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Access to Cultural Property and Heritage: Ethical and Moral Considerations in Archives

Marisol Ramos

The role of custody and the obligations of the custodian must be examined through the prism of access[1].

Jeannette A. Bastian

Keywords: *access*; *heritage*; *ethics*; *Society of American Archivists*

Introduction

The University of Connecticut (UConn)'s Thomas J. Dodd Research Center Archives and Special Collections, part of the University Libraries, is an example of a repository that houses a wide variety of cultural heritage collections from Africa, the Caribbean, Europe and Latin America. Since I started working at the Dodd Center in 2007, I have been considering the ethical and moral obligations of managing these collections not only for our faculty and students, but also for researchers from all around the world, and more specifically for researchers and other users that have a national and cultural connection with our collections. When I started my job, I found myself unable to balance the needs to serve international users (who would request hundreds of photocopies of materials not found in their county) with the needs of the archives (to protect the materials against actions that could be detrimental to them, e.g. excessive photocopying). The majority of the requests came from Spanish researchers and most of the materials requested were unique titles only found in our institution – there were no copies in their country. Without access to them, these researchers felt their own research and part of their cultural heritage and history was incomplete. The only option at the time (2007) was to suggest to the researchers that they apply for a travel grant to visit the archives and allow digital photography when appropriate.

This state of affairs at the time left me very distressed because as an archivist, I felt unable to follow the tenets of the Society of American Archivists (SAA) Code of Ethics that states the section Access and Use:

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[1] Jeannette A. Bastian, *Taking Custody, Giving Access: A Postcustodial Role for a New Century*, "Archivaria", 53 (2002), 1, p. 76-96. [http://journals.sfu.ca/archivar/index.php/archivaria/article/viewArticle/12838] [April 11, 2011].

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> "[A]rchivists actively promote open and equitable access to the records in their care within the context of their institutions' missions and their intended user groups. They minimize restrictions and maximize ease of access. They facilitate the continuing accessibility and intelligibility of archival materials in all formats...."[2]

At the time, I felt that even though we offer access "without discrimination and preferential treatment", we were unable to provide equitable access. On one hand, we were promoting these collections online, but on the other hand, when receiving request to photocopy or scan our materials from international users, most of the time we had to reject their requests. The situation was more poignant because we were unable to provide access to researchers that have a cultural connection with the collections. Although we do offer travel grants to visit the archives, the funding does not cover all expenses, thus only well-to-do or well-funded researchers from overseas would be able to come. The funding is also targeted to academic users, so a researcher who was not a faculty member or graduate student would not be eligible for financial support. What can we do to expand the opportunities to all users to get access to these collections without inflicting an added financial burden to the users? What could I do, using our own institution resources, to help researchers and citizens to get access to their cultural heritage? This piece will try to answer these questions, in addition to discuss issues regarding cultural property, access, the effects of colonialism on the loss of cultural heritage, and the role of ethics in deciding access issues in an archival setting using my experience at the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center as an example.

Recent Discussions on Cultural Property and Heritage

In the recent past, discussions on cultural property in the United States (U.S.) and other developed countries seemed to have been focused on indigenous populations' cultural property[3] and less so on how to tackle other cultural properties that do not fall into categories such as cultural expressions, traditional or ethnic[4].

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[2] See the current SAA's Code of Ethics document at http://www2.archivists.org/statements/saa-core-values-statement-and-code-of-ethics.

[3] For example, WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organization), http://www.wipo.int/tk/en/ and UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=home.

[4] Because of the scope of the article I am unable to discuss in detail the major recent discussions regarding this topic, but in brief, the American Library Association created a task force to tackle access to cultural property in libraries. To learn about the Traditional Cultural Expressions Task Force (TCE) visit, http://wo.ala.org/tce/. The TCE taskforce submitted a draft document for comment called *Librarianship and Traditional Cultural Expressions: Nurturing Understanding and Respect* in 2009 which was greatly criticized. To see the full document created by the ALA's TCE task force visit, http://www.districtdispatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/TCE-Task-Force-Report-Final-1-9-11.pdf. See also, the Library Copyright Alliance's response to the TCE (February 2011), http://www.librarycopyrightalliance.org/bm~doc/lca_tcecomments21march11.

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Most recently, though, development inside SAA pointed out to a movement among archivists to start considering what are the moral or ethical obligations of archives that housed these collections toward the countries and its citizens who have little or no access to them. In the last five years two new SAA roundtables[5] were established to start addressing these issues: the Latin American and Caribbean Cultural Heritage Archives (LACCHA) and the Human Rights Archives Roundtable (HRART). These roundtables have created a space where members can discuss the best ways to give access to these collections among other archival issues.

In addition, in 2010 the SAA Council established a new working group, the Cultural Property Working Group[6], to assist the Society in developing guidelines, best practices and new policies. At this time (2011), members of this group are working to create a framework that encompasses cultural sensitivity and empathy. The group hopes to be able to advice the SAA memberships on ways to address this issue and find solutions that can still balance the needs of users with the needs of the archives.

Effects of colonialism on the loss of cultural heritage

At the end of the first decade of the 21st century, many post-colonial and neocolonial countries and regions are still dealing or living with the negative effects of colonialism in their cultural, economic and political practices. One of these effects is the loss of cultural heritage archives by expropriation (by former colonial powers), donations and/or purchases. Discussions about the effects of colonialism have been around since the early 1980s in anthropology, sociology and many other social sciences but it is not until the 2000s that Archival and Library Sciences started engaging in earnest in these discussions. Peter Limb argues that one of the most affected regions who have lost cultural heritage archives is Africa, a loss that he refers to as "document drain." He explains:

> "The 'document drain' occurs in different ways. Via problems of preservation or access, or by acquisition by rich Western institutions able to afford entire archival or published collections – whilst the

pdf and SAA response's letter to Carrie Russell, Director of Program on Public Access to Information regarding the TCE draft document (January 2010) http://www.archivists.org/news/2010TCE%20letter%20to%20ALA.pdf.

[5] Roundtables are groups of SAA members that share common interests and concerns, who hold meetings and projects and share concerns and issues to the SAA Council so actions and new policies can be created.

[6] To learn more about this working group, visit http://saa.archivists.org/4DCGI/committees/SAAWG-CULPROP.html?Action=Show_Comm_Detail&CommCode=SAA**WG-CULPROP&Time=690498197.

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> African archives or publishing houses in which they reside or are produced rot and decay."[7]

This phenomenon is not limited to Africa but it can be found in other regions such as Latin America and the Caribbean. For example, Mexico has lost many personal collections of Mexican writers and bibliophiles due to the mistrust of creators toward the Mexican government or the lure of rich American universities willing to purchases their collections[8]. In the Caribbean, Jeannette A. Bastian described the loss of most of the U.S. Virgin Island (a former Danish colony) archives to Demark in the early 20th century. She explains:

> "Denmark's archival concerns following the sale agreement centered on uniting the records of its colonial offices as well as placating Danish citizens who, recognizing that centuries of colonial involvement meant that the records contained significant historical and genealogical information, lobbied heavily for their return. From the Danish perspective, these products of their colonial administration were Danish records that had to be brought home."[9]

Little consideration at that time was given to leave this archive to the people of the U.S. Virgin Islands or even to make copies of these documents for their inhabitants as part of their own history and cultural heritage. Although agreements had been signed to facilitate access to these records to the people of U.S. Virgin Islands[10], the archives are still at the Danish National Archives[11].

These examples are just a snapshot of the types of cultural heritage collections found in the United States that until recently were not easily available to the citizens, descendants and scholars from the countries of origin of these collections. This situation is not a unique problem to the United States but it is shared with other former European colonial metropolises. The fact that most of these collections in the custody of archival institutions in the US and Europe were legally

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[7] Peter Limb, *Ethical Issues in Southern African Archives and Libraries*, "Innovation: Appropriate Librarianship and Information Work in Southern Africa" 24 (2002), 1, p. 51-57 (52). [http://www.innovation.ukzn.ac.za/Innovation/InnovationPdfs/No24Limb.pdf] [April 11, 2011].

[8] See Yanet Aguilar Sosa, *La bibliofilia mexicana puede dejar su tragedia*, "El Universal", February 8, 2011 [http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/cultura/64749.html (in Spanish)]. Aguilar details the lost of cultural heritage in Mexico since the expulsion of the Jesuits order in 1767 to the present and what is the Mexican government doing to stop losing more of their heritage, http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/ cultura/64749.html (in Spanish).

[9] J. A. Bastian, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[10] 1999 Joint Agreement between Denmark and U.S. Virgin Island (J. A. Bastian, *op. cit.*, p. 92, note 61).

[11] Visit Danish National Library website on the Virgin Island for more info at http://www.sa.dk/content/us/learning_and_research/the_danish_west_indies [March 30, 2011]. In addition, other historical records about the U.S. Virgin Islands are housed at National Archives and Record Administration (NARA) in Washington, DC. See, http://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/055.html to access information on these *fonds*.

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obtained, does not take away the fact that by acquiring them, they have taken away the cultural heritage from the people where these collections were created or collected. As archivists, what kind of moral and/or ethical considerations should we be bear in mind when dealing with such cultural heritage collections?

Ethical and Moral[12] Considerations on Access to Cultural Heritage Collections

In the last four years that I have worked at the University of Connecticut I have developed what I feel is a philosophical stance regarding cultural heritage collections housed in United States institutions based on current archival standards and the SAA Code of Ethics. As a cultural memory institution that holds materials that originated outside the United States that are so unique that the countries of origin do not have copies, it behooves us to find ways to make such material more accessible – it should be a moral obligation that we should strive for when possible.

What do I mean by ethical and moral considerations? When I think of ethics, I think back to the SAA's Code of Ethics regarding access. To strive to provide equitable access regardless if users are from the parent institutions or an outsider, and when that is not possible, to find solutions that eventually will make collections more accessible[13]. When I think of moral considerations I am referring to decisions based on my own personal philosophical code that I have developed as a Latinoamericanist scholar and an individual belonging to a minority group[14], who can empathize with other researchers and users when they encounter that their cultural heritage is outside their country and it is hard or almost impossible to reach it. I believe being able to empathize with your users, especially with outside users who have a more emotional and cultural connection with the collection in our custody, is very important since their research and/or interest in the collection may go beyond an academic point of view and more toward feelings of national pride, family pride (genealogy) or accountability and social justice (human rights).

Archivists follow their own particular moral code and ethics, but most of us do share common moral and ethics regarding our professional obligations and our responsibilities towards the collections under our custody and the creators, donors and users that want access to it. Two examples at my institution showcase best how working with an ethical and moral framework has helped me to facilitate outside users to access their cultural heritage.

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[12] I am not using the term 'moral' in the religious sense but more in the social sense of a system of rules that define how we behave when dealing with different social situations.

[13] For the purpose of this article, the term 'access' is used broadly to encompass different ways to connect collections with users, e.g. physical access to the archives, different reproduction options when users cannot visit the archives, bibliographic records to find collections and improve discoverability, and digitization projects to give access to collections online.

[14] I am a Puerto Rican, one of the recognized minority groups in the United States.

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The Spanish Periodicals and Newspapers Collection

In the early 1970s, the UConn's Special Collection department purchased a collection of Spanish periodicals and newspapers[15] dating from the 18th to early 20th centuries, with the bulk of the collection dating from the 19th century. The collection is unique for various reasons: first, it was collected by the famous bibliophile, Juan Perez de Guzman y Boza, the Duque de T' Serclaes[16]. Second, because the newspapers collection was acquired as a lot, it maintained its integrity[17]. Third, because some of the titles are so unique that there are no copies left in Spain. Finally, some of the titles still contain fold-outs of music scores, sewing and knitting patters and many color prints, ephemeral supplements which usually did not survive since they were meant to be removed and used by the subscribers. Because of the uniqueness of the collection, many requests for photocopying from Spanish scholars were made but very few were able to be fulfilled because we did not have the staff or the right equipment to photocopy the amount of materials (sometimes over 100 pages). In addition, the act of photocopying so many copies would have been detrimental for the material (too fragile and brittle). It felt ironic and a little cruel to promote these collections to be used by a broad audience through the World Wide Web but then be forced by circumstances to provide limited or no access at all.

The Puerto Rican Civil Courts Documents Collection (PRCCD)

The PRCCD collection was purchased back in 2000 from a reputable antiquarian with whom the university had done business with for many years. The collection contains approx. 5000 holographic documents dated between 1840s to the 1890s, many of which are from the Arecibo district civil courts in Puerto Rico, covering the full range of cases that might have been brought to civil courts. The condition of the collection is fair with some major preservation issues, mainly brittleness, foxing and ink bleeding and ink erosion[18]. The collection is barely used

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[15] The Spanish Periodicals and Newspapers collection is housed at the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center. To see a listing of all the holdings visit http://doddcenter.uconn.edu/asc/collections/spanper.htm.

[16] He was the twin brother of Manuel Pérez de Guzmán y Boza, Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros, another famous bibliophile, reputed to have the best library of Spanish books in the world. When Archer Huntington, the founder of the Hispanic Society of New York, bought the collection in 1904, it is said that Ramón Menéndez Pidal, a well-known Spanish writer, lamented the loss of the collection, saying: "una perdida peor que la de Cuba [it was a loss worse than {losing} Cuba]", Margot Molina, *La biblioteca del marqués de Jerez era la major*", "El País", November 11, 2008 [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/andalucia/biblioteca/marques/Jerez/era/mejor/elpepuespand/20081111elpand_10/Tes].

[17] The rest of the Duke's vast collection of books, art pieces, incunables have been sold by the heirs through the years, breaking down the original collection and today no one knows for sure where everything is located.

[18] Oak gall ink, a very ferrous and corrosive ink when exposed to light and heat, was used to write all these documents. Little holes appear in the documents where ink pooled.

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and we do not allow photocopying of it. In 2008, we received a request from one of the archivists at the General Archives of Puerto Rico to photocopy the whole PRCCD collection and if possible to return the collection to the General Archives of Puerto Rico. Her rationale was based on the fact the Puerto Rican legislature in 1955 promulgated Law #5 where stated that documents created during the Spanish colonial period needed to be transferred to the newly created *Archivo General de Puerto Rico*. The law, though, does not address issues such as records leaving this U.S. territory before 1955 and what mechanism to use to recover them. Because of this situation, the Puerto Rican archivist could not and did not demand the return of the material, but asked if copies could be sent back to Puerto Rico. At the time of the request, we wanted to return the collection but were unable to return the material for lack of documentation – the Puerto Rican government did not provide any documentation to legally prove ownership – and we could not photocopy the material either because its condition is so fragile that photocopying will actually damage the collection. So, what to do?

Giving Access to Cultural Heritage Collections

These two cases echo some of the issues discussed by Limb and Bastian in their respective articles: "document drain" through purchases of private collections and loss of historical documents vital to national and colonial history. Both cases required special consideration: balancing the needs of researchers to get access to unique materials, with the needs of the archives to protect the material from damage. But, it was clear to me that my duty as a custodian of these materials was to find ways to make it available to these users. When you are the only repository that owns these types of collections, it is our moral and ethical obligation to find ways to unite users with the collections created in their own countries of origin, in addition to other users from around the world.

Therefore, with the support of my supervisors and colleagues I was able to identify funding opportunities to digitize parts of the Spanish Periodicals and Newspaper collection. The Digital Projects Team at the UConn Libraries, awards grants to digitize collections to promote access as part of the Libraries' strategic goals, and I successfully applied for funding.[19] This project was a complete success. We were able to digitize 20 titles[20] and to create a webpage with background information on the collection with a listing of all digitized titles. National and

[19] To learn more about the University of Connecticut Libraries' Strategic Plan 2009-2014, visit http://www.lib.uconn.edu/about/publications/stratplan2014.pdf See, Goal # 3, pg. 10, regarding the library role regarding digitization: "... The Libraries' path is clear: enhance the research process through direct support via our liaisons and collections and take on new roles of digital preservation, organization, and access." Also, see Strategy B, pg. 10, #2: "Identify, digitize, and organize subject and artifact collections valuable for research and make them accessible to our researchers and to the scholarly community at large."

[20] Visit the *Spanish Periodicals and Newspapers: Women's Magazine Digital Collection* at http:// doddcenter.uconn.edu/asc/collections/spanwomen.htm.

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international researches, especially from Spain, have been accessing the titles since the website went live in 2009 through the Internet Archives site (with over 500 downloads per title) and the University Libraries Digital Portal[21]. Since the launching of the digital collection, three Spanish researchers have come to our archives to use the collection after discovering our holdings online.

The success of this first digital project leads me to pursue, two years later (2011), a new digital project where the Puerto Rican Civil Court Documents collection will be digitized and eventually be offered freely online. A pilot was done to digitize one folder of these documents[22] which helped us to determine if the project was feasible, that the resulting digital product was legible and to establish a workflow that allowed us to estimate the cost, time and resources needed to complete the project. In July 2012 we were awarded a digitization grant from LAMP (formerly known as the Latin American Microform Project), an initiative of the Center for Research Libraries. Currently we are digitizing the collection and hope to be done with the project by May 2012[23].

Conclusions

As custodians of unique cultural heritage materials, it is our responsibility not only to preserve these materials but to give access to them as fairly and equitable as possible, especially unique materials housed outside their countries of origin. As the two cases presented in this piece demonstrated, today we are in a better position than ever to connect cultural heritage collections with users and researchers that have a direct relationship with the materials through digitization initiatives. As Bastian explains, "[...] the current desire among disparate communities worldwide for identity and self-realization suggests a compelling need for access to historical records."[24] Pursuing these types of projects has the added benefit to address historical injustice done in the name of colonialism and give back a part of these peoples cultural history.

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[21] The Internet Archives, http://www.archive.org/ is a non-profit organization with the mission to offer "permanent access for researchers, historians, scholars, people with disabilities, and the general public to historical collections that exist in digital format." The University of Connecticut, University Library Digital Portal, http://digitalcollections.uconn.edu/, run by the Digital Collections Coordinating Team, is the gateway to access UConn digital collections and provide advice and leadership for future digital projects.

[22] To see the documents already digitized in this collection visit: http://tinyurl.com/628ndxd.

[23] To learn more about the Puerto Rican Civil Court Cases digital project visit http://today.uconn.edu/blog/2011/07/shedding-light-on-life-in-19th-century-puerto-rico/.

[24] J. A. Bastian, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

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New Challenges for Archives on their Way into the World Wide Web

Thomas Aigner

Keywords: *world wide web*; *digitisation*; *archives-libraries relationship*

While the invention of computers and the gradual use of databases that started in the 80ies of the last century had only little influence on the work and public positioning of archives and libraries, things changed dramatically when the Internet took root in everyday life. Basically, the challenges resulting from this development are twofold: Firstly, how are we dealing with digital data (born digital, digitised documents) in terms of their provision and long-term archiving? Secondly, how do archives position themselves and their contents in the worldwide web? At first glance the one may seem complicated, and the other quite simple. As often, the truth is somewhere in-between. In the following, I will leave the answer to the first question to the experts and delve into the second one with even greater enthusiasm.

Whereas at the beginning the Internet had simply been a means of telecommunicating data, it has now turned into something much more important, that is to say a virtual dimension of life existing side by side with real life which we can hardly escape anymore. It is no longer about sending data to and fro, or gathering information from websites. No, these days a large part of communication is done through the web, people have virtual identities and move within virtual networks just like in real life. It's safe to say that the Internet has become a kind of "parallel world", in which we are just as present as in the "real" world. At this point it is important to emphasize that the real world cannot be easily separated from the virtual world, as each is a part of the other. Just like most shops offer online shopping these days and every rock band has their fan site, any keeper of cultural heritage such as archives must find a way to position themselves in the virtual world and develop appropriate offers.

The biggest difference between the virtual and the physical world lies in the fact that space and time do not matter when it comes to the Internet. At the end of the day it is of absolutely no importance where an item is physically stored and at what time its digital reproduction is viewed. In other words, unique information that has so far been restricted to a physical carrier is snatched from its isolation: Suddenly, it is no longer tied to a certain place but can be viewed at any time of the day and from any place in the world. And what is more, by cross-linking data and making use of various technologies such as the "semantic web", information may be cross-referenced with other information at will, thus providing completely new insight and discovering hitherto unknown aspects of historical events and developments.

As much as we may take such statements for granted today, we should definitely keep in mind that this is just the beginning, comparable to the days of the

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mid-15th century when moveable type printing was invented. It took several centuries until this technology became fit for mass production. The same goes for digital media: Today's media revolution is similar to the one in the 15th century and the biggest part is still ahead of us. We might even say that we are currently going through a "digital Stone Age", and a quick review of the technological achievements of the past 10-15 years bears impressive testimony.

And yet, is it at all necessary for "monopolists" such as archives to become active in that area when it is only unique documents they are dealing with that cannot be found anywhere else? If someone wishes to view such documents, they will anyway have to journey to the archive in question... It is different with libraries: At least theoretically, printed books can usually be viewed at other places as well. One does not depend on seeking out a certain location.

So, can archives sit back and relax?

By no means! It is not only abovementioned long-term archiving that is by itself already causing a lot of stress. Being the keeper of unique documents bound to one location entails a number of new challenges and perspectives when seen in the light of information technology which not even "monopolists" can deny. Taking a look at some of the basic aspects, we will see that the storing of unique copies involves a certain amount of risk and – in that context – obligations. An archival document once lost is lost forever and cannot be replaced by another copy. It is therefore mandatory for any archive to protect the physical carrier material against theft, damage or destruction. Another problem lies in the fact that making archival objects available to the public is time-consuming and thus expensive.

Usually professional archives are on top of such challenges, yet, frequent budget and staff cuts call for cost reduction and increased efficiency. This is where information technology, and specifically the Internet, opens up completely new possibilities not only to deal with risks and cost factors, but to completely re-position archives in society and public life. Against this background, the operation of archives as well as their procedures and working methods will change fundamentally. One might even say that archives are finding themselves at the beginning of a transformation process comparable to the one of a caterpillar about to morph into a butterfly, we just do not know its colour yet – red, green, black or brightly patterned.

Naturally, such a process triggers insecurity, even fear, and yet there is a tremendous potential to improve the protection of historical documents and their accessibility, to make them available for research and, for the first time in history, present them as public memory to all people alike.

One might argue that archives have so far always been open to the public, which is however not completely correct. As a matter of fact there are still huge barriers to easy public access that may sound misleadingly trivial: physical restriction to one location, administrative hurdles as well as hardly any presence in public awareness when compared to libraries and museums. As soon as this public memory becomes easily and freely accessible online, each and everyone may retrieve it

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without having to go anywhere. Let us put it this way: Archives are an important part of a society's historical memory and the people that belong to it. Mostly for reasons of physical restraints, however, most people are separated from this memory, THEIR memory, a fact, which is about to change radically. By using the Internet, basically anyone will have the chance to retrieve THEIR memory at any time. It is a process that strongly contributes to the democratic foundation of a society. And again, one might argue that this is all very hypothetical as hardly anyone is able to read old scripts and "correctly" interpret their sources.

This is, however, not about the past or present, it is about finding new ways for future development. Generally, anyone is free to learn how to read and interpret historical documents, apart from the fact that this will hardly be needed for 20th century papers anyway. Public information that has in fact been kept from public access so far will finally really become public!

A lot of quarrelling about tasks and competences is to be expected. There will be cultural clashes, fears and insecurities, and the absolute truth will never be found. There is no way around keeping to "[...] *try it and get some reactions, find the happy center, rinse and repeat...*"[1] And this is the huge difference to previous physical media such as printed books and finding aids which always had an air of finality. On the one hand, they give a feeling of security and stability, on the other hand they never did justice to the fact that knowledge is always something dynamic and under continuous transformation.

Making archival documents publicly available online will inevitably lead to a drastic decrease in visitors' numbers in the reading rooms. At first glance this seems to be of little help to statistics, even for those archives charging user fees. At second glance things will be put into perspective, though:

1. The number of visitors will NOT decrease but shift to the Internet. Given the easy accessibility the numbers will downright "explode".

2. Proceeds from user fees will decrease, but so will the cost for handling and the administration of archival material. Also, costs for the maintenance and operation of reading rooms will diminish significantly.

There is a huge potential for indirect returns in using the Internet that will not only reduce costs but release capacities whose economic value will exceed possible gains from user fees by far[2]. Archives will return to focussing on their original purpose: To make information available, and not to run reading rooms![3]

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[1] Cited after Rick Segal, in Jeff Jarvis, *Was würde Google tun? Wie man von den Erfolgsstrategien des Internet-Giganten profitiert*, Munich, 2009, p. 164.

[2] As shown in calculations using the example of the Archive of the Diocese of St. Pölten, cf. www.dsp.at/dasp.

[3] In modification of the words of Gerhart Marckhgott, Director of the Regional Archive of the Province of Upper Austria.

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"All roads lead to Rome!"

The big difference between archives and libraries lies in the fact that the former almost exclusively store unique copies that can only be found in one place in the world. The possibilities that open up by putting archival documents online in digital form are therefore the more revolutionary. Archival information will no longer be restricted to one place, not even necessarily to a physical storage site or a server. The technical and organisational conditions are almost as multifaceted as the archival material itself. While a physical archive can only be accessed through its entrance door, the access to digital repositories in the Internet can be manifold: Obviously, there will be a main portal for standard use, but basically any number of portals could be created so that access from very different directions and points of view will be guaranteed. This could be a national portal for archives or cultural heritage in general, an international documents portal such as Monasterium.net or a general international archive portal as APENet (www.apenet.eu) or EUROPEANA.

"Cooperation, not competition!"

"Cooperation, not competition" may sound funny to typical "monopolists" like archives, as they anyhow store nothing but the only copies there are. At closer inspection, however, it becomes evident that there is indeed a virtual market of cultural information where one needs professional and client-oriented positioning to succeed. Such a proposition can in turn only be attained by an intensive exchange of knowledge and experience with one's peers. This goes for contents offered as well: They do not supplant or compete with each other, they complement each other – a process that does not simply add up "1+1=2", but grows exponentially. As opposed to printed information which has to be put into a context manually and whose output is consequently limited, the electronic linking of information opens up a wide range of possibilities that can't yet be captured today to its full extent. Of course, there are certain generally acknowledged, traditional standards that need to be observed, but data must not necessarily be modelled after one and the same scheme in order to be linkable. Various search technologies enable us to evaluate even data of inconsistent structure; diversity supplants uniformity.

Combined with the latest web 2.0 technologies the electronic positioning of archival sources creates completely new alliances between archives and users. Archival knowledge is dynamically merged with the knowledge generated from the users of the sources and at the same time made publicly accessible – customers become partners.

"Customers become partners"

A fundamental change is expected in the old one-way procedure "archive – users", when archives indexed and made available while the researchers evaluated

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and published. Instead of information flowing in one direction only, there will be a backflow that both sides benefit from and that will considerably change their future way of work. This goes for the following areas:

- User demand determines digital supply, which will heavily influence the priority with which archival documents will be indexed and made available.
- How the sources are being presented will be tailor-made to the users' needs as they will be a part of the development and improvement processes.
- Two heads are better than one: It is not only the archivist's knowledge that will leave its mark on the content, but the user's insight as well, which in turn will quickly enlarge the amount of content.
- New working methods: Once digitised and put online, archival documents can easily be indexed de-centrally. Given a certain quality control, the user community may be included in the indexing process, which will help indexing large quantities of material deemed impossible up till now.

Control vs. trust

It is one of the basic needs of an archive to monitor its users, the main reason being the necessity to physically protect originals against damage and theft as well as the obligation to prevent the violation of legally protected data. This very essential quality of an archive's physical operation is deeply enrooted in the minds of the archivists. But does this need for control have to be applied to digital online archives as well? Not if a virtual archive is only presenting documents free of retention periods, in other words, documents that would also be physically accessible without restriction: A digitised copy can neither be stolen nor damaged, its information is free – so why exercise control? Things are different of course with archival sources of legally protected content: They will either not be put online at all or tagged with appropriate access rights in order to safeguard their protection.

Protecting the copyright of digital documents is another frequent and essential necessity. This goes for instance for the further use of illustrations for publishing purposes. Possible misuse can easily be prevented by using low-resolution online pictures that cannot be used reasonably for any other purposes, or else considerably restrict downloading possibilities by applying certain viewer technologies (such as Flash) – or else commit oneself to Open Access and release the pictures completely.

Generally one always has to keep in mind that there is no absolute data safety in the Internet – just as a real-life archive could always be burglarised.

Nightmare No. 1: "Digitisation is expensive!"

This is certainly correct when you are determined to do every little thing yourself and refuse to accept the knowledge and experience of others before you. When you are resolved to re-invent the wheel! It is also correct when one perceives

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digitisation as a short-term process ... and of course, when there is no strategy to go by.

Following the opposite path, however, will make digitisation an affordable venture and even small archives will be able to accomplish great things.

- By allowing oneself to benefit from the experience of others, an easy solution may very quickly present itself.
- Just like our archives did not grow and develop within a few years but usually over centuries, the process of digitisation will be a long one. Digital archives will just as well need time to grow and expand, and in some cases it will be faster than in others.
- By setting up an effective strategy and adjusting one's priorities to one's frame of reference and needs, indirect cost savings and the increase in efficiency may be considerable.

Nightmare No. 2: "Charging fees"

A sometimes heated discussion is going on about whether or not to charge user fees for the access to online archives. On the one hand there are those who insist on bringing in the immense costs caused by maintaining an online archive. On the other hand people claim that making things available online should be an obvious service for every taxpayer. There is something to be said for both, in reality however, it is a self-regulating issue.

The huge amount of cultural content in the Internet rules out charging fees as a suitable way to earn money. Too quickly will users close a homepage and click on to another site free of charge. Charging fees is therefore not only an almost insurmountable barrier to attracting new target groups but also a means of "scaring away" previously active customers of physical archives. As a consequence the number of users will drop to what is left of the former small group of staunch visitors.

On the contrary, keeping the access free of charge will provide each and everyone an easy opportunity to use the available material. The circle of users will multiply many times over, leading to an increase in research output and raising the reputation of archives to being cooperative and service-oriented.

Once a sensible business model for pay services within a freely accessible archive has been developed and implemented, the sheer amount of users might generate income that will exceed the user fees of just a small group by far.

So what's the use of it?

One might ask, "Why all this trouble, when physical archives are perfectly able to do the job?" At first glance, a very valid question, especially in view of low budgets and little manpower.

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And yet, it is a fact that the worldwide web has long since developed a kind of parallel universe that no individual and no area of daily life can stay away from. One could almost say, what does not exist in the Internet does not exist at all! Seeing that this is a long-term development, it will sooner or later become a vital necessity for archives to offer their materials in digital form, as:

- The public has a right to access their historical memory without restriction and independent of social status and education;
- The workload for archival staff will be reduced;
- Costs will be lowered and new capacities made available;
- Original documents will be protected;
- There will be new scientific findings; and
- New target groups and thus sources of income will be tapped!

Having said this, it will always pay off to "[...]. try it and get some reactions, find the happy center, rinse and repeat."[4]

[4] Given article is a condensed resume of sorts, covering various IT projects from the past few years (www.monasterium.net, www.matricula-online.eu).

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Die Rolle der Institution der Archive im sozialen Leben Rumäniens (1989-2009)

Virgil Coman

Keywords: *Romanian Archives*; *globalization*; *society*; *post-communist Romania*; *legislation*

Trotz des anspruchsvollen Titels, soll und ist unser Bestreben eigentlich nur ein Teil eines "Puzzles", weshalb wir auch mit einigen einleitenden Angaben beginnen. Grundsätzlich erfordert die Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Frage eine komplexe Analyse der vielfältigen Faktoren, die zur Festlegung der objektiven Stellung und der Rolle der Nationalarchive in der rumänischen Gesellschaft in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten beigetragen haben. Natürlich sind in dieser Hinsicht die wenigen Seiten, in denen wir versucht haben, unsere Tätigkeit zu beschreiben, nicht ausreichend, so dass wir jetzt nur auf ein Segment davon eingehen werden, und zwar unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tatsache, dass Rumänien Mitgliedstaat der Europäischen Union geworden ist.

Grundsätzlich wollen wir vor allem die Rolle der Nationalarchive hinsichtlich der Beachtung der Menschenrechte hervorheben, wobei aber auch andere Zuständigkeiten dieser Institution mit Auswirkungen im sozialen Leben Rumäniens zwischen der Zeitspanne 1989-2009[1] nicht ausser Acht gelassen werden sollen. Die Achtung der Menschenrechte bildet eines der wichtigsten Ziele unserer Institution und war auch eines der wichtigsten Ziele Rumäniens während des europäischen Integrationsprozesses[2].

Im Bestreben, einen Sinn unserem Ansatz zu verleihen, halten wir es für notwendig, erstens die Institution der Archive zu definieren, anschließend kurz die allgemeine Entwicklung der europäischen Gesellschaft vorzuführen. Somit sind die Nationalarchive – eine Budget-Einheit im Rahmen des Innenministeriums – eines der grundlegenden Institutionen des rumänischen Staates, damit beauftragt, den nationalen Archivbestand Rumäniens[3] zu verwalten, zu überwachen und nicht in letzter Reihe zu beschützen.

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[1] Corina Samoilă, *Revoluția prin "ochii" Arhivelor*. Interviu acordat de Virgil Coman, "Ziua de Constanța", IX, Nr. 2749, 22. Dezember 2009, S. 6.

[2] Vgl. dazu die Konferenz *Țintele României în procesul de integrare europeană*, "Buletin informativ", Liga Apărării Drepturilor Omului, Bukarest, XIV, S. 3.

[3] *Legea Arhivelor Naționale nr. 16/1996*, "Monitorul Oficial", VIII, Teil I, nr. 71, 9. April 1996, S. 1; vgl. dazu auch die Meinung von Bogdan-Florin Popovici, *Arhiva totală: experiența românească. O incursiune în istoria conceptului de Fond Arhivistic Național*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 85 (2008), 1, S. 24-50.

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Hinsichtlich der allgemeinen Entwicklung der modernen europäischen Zivilisation hat das Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges, wie das schon bereits bekannt ist, eine große Spaltung erzeugt, mit auch heute noch schwer vorstellbaren Auswirkungen, die mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert die schüchternen früheren Projekte für die Verwirklichung eines vereinten Europa verzögert[4] haben. Daher erschient aus sozialer und politischer Perspektive betrachtet die zweite Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts in der Geschichte des alten Kontinents in zwei völlig verschiedene Welten aufgeteilt, nämlich eine demokratische im Westen und eine totalitäre im Osten. In diesem Zusammenhang hat sich auch die rumänische Gesellschaft[5] weiterentwickelt, welche bald darauf gewaltiger gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen unterworfen wurde, die vor allem der Einsetzung des kommunistischen Regime am 6. März 1945[6] zu verdanken sind.

Das Verschwinden des "Eisernen Vorhangs" und die Wiederherstellung einiger Regime demokratischen Types in Osteuropa hat in den späten 80-er Jahren den Übergang zum Entwurf der europäischen Einheit gestattet. In Rumänien hat der Prozess der politischen Reformen und europäischen Integration zu neuen wirtschaftlichen und behördlichen Übergangsstrukturen mit Folgen für das gesellschaftliche Leben geführt, die zugleich mit der Transformation oder dem Verschwinden der bereits vorhandenen stattgefunden haben. Zur gleichen Zeit haben die Änderungen in Rumänien nach 1989 zur Entwicklung eines komplexen Prozess der Überprüfung und Aufwertung der rumänischen demokratischen Traditionen in Bezug auf die Menschenrechte beigetragen, doch haben diese Änderungen auf dem Grund eines mühsamen Überganges, der bis heute noch in der rumänischen Gesellschaft andauert, stattgefunden[7]. Sicher sind aber diese Änderungen in einem breiteren europäischen oder sogar globalen Kontext im Zusammenhang mit der Auflösung der Gesellschaften sowjetischen Types in Osteuropa zu betrachten. Laut dem Soziologen Anthony Giddens "wurde einerseits das europäische Sozialmodell im Gegensatz zur Sowjetunion und Osteuropa definiert, andererseits in Kontrast zum

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[4] Hans-Gert Pöttering, *De la viziune la realitate. Pe drumul spre unificarea Europei*, Bukarest, 2007, S. 19-67.

[5] Academia Română. Societatea Română de Statistică. Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, *Cunoaște România*, Bukarest, 2004, *passim*.

[6] Silviu Brucan, *Pluralism și conflict social. O analiză socială a lumii comuniste*, Bukarest, *passim*.

[7] Vgl. dazu einige Aufsätze in Bezug auf den sozio-ökonomischen und politischen Wandel in Rumänien nach 1989: Ion Aurel Stoica, *Uvertura unui nou umanism. Neosocial-democrația. Social-democrația modernă sau o schiță asupra temeiului speranței în România*, Bukarest, 1994; Radu Florian, *Criza unei lumi în schimbare*, Bukarest, 1996; *Față în față cu Petre Roman*. 9 convorbiri cu Vartan Arachelian, Bukarest, 1996; Gheorghe Cliveti, *Liberalismul românesc. Eseu istoriografic*, Iași, 1996; Dinu Marin, *Criza reformei. Eu sunt roman?*, Bukarest, 1999; Ion Iliescu, *Încotro-Societatea românească?*, Bukarest, 1999; Adrian Năstase, *Bătălia pentru viitor*, Bukarest, 2000; Emil Constantinescu, *Timpul dărâmării, timpul zidirii*. Cele două fețe ale zidului (vol 1). Pietre de încercare (vol. 2). Lumea în care trăim (vol. 3). Cărțile schimbării (vol. 4), Bukarest, 2002; Ion Iliescu, *Marele șoc din finalul unui secol scurt*. Ion Iliescu în dialog cu Vladimir Tismăneanu: despre comunism, postcomunism, democrație, Bukarest, 2004; Idem, *Pentru o dezvoltare durabilă*, Bukarest, 2004; Valeriu Stoica und Paul Dragoș Aligică, *Reconstrucția dreptei. Între experimentul capitalist occidental și proiectul național românesc*, Bukarest, 2009.

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Liberalismus des amerikanischen freien Marktes. Diese Autodefinierung ist heute nicht mehr gültig. Wenn wir die Reformen und Veränderungen betrachten, sollten wir uns nicht nur auf das Jahr 1989 beziehen, sondern auch auf die Kräfte und Einflüsse, die in diesem Augenblick entstanden sind, und die vor allem mit der zunehmenden Globalisierung verbunden sind"[8]. Ebenso behauptete er, dass "das globale Zeitalter ein Zustand der Dinge ist, eine Reihe von sozialen Bedingungen, die zahlreiche Veränderungen in unserem Leben andeuten. Im Gegensatz dazu ist die Globalisierung ein Prozess oder eine Reihe von Prozessen hinsichtich der für diese Entwicklung zuständigen Kräfte und Einflüsse"[9] .

Heute, da die globale Gesellschaft tiefe Umwälzungen erlebt, bauen die Achtung und Förderung der Menschenrechte in erster Linie auf der Grundlage eines Dialogs. Auf wahre Werte gestützt, kann dieser nur durch eine gemeinsame Sprache des Respektes und der Solidarität[10] erreicht werden. "Der Dialog hinsichtlich der Menschenrechte wird heute eher sowohl nach oben, auf supranationaler, internationaler und globaler Ebene geführt, wie auch nach unten, auf individueller und lokaler Ebene, ein Phänomen, das als «Globalisierung» bekannt ist". Globalisierung und Liberalisierung des Zugangs zum Wissen führten zwangsläufig zum Aufstieg eines neuen Verständnises der "gemeinsamen Sprache der Menschheit". Deshalb sind nach der Ära des Kalten Krieges die Staaten dazu verpflichtet, ethische Entscheidungen, die juristische und politische Schwierigkeiten miteinbeziehen und von einem hohen moralischen Standard zeugen, zu treffen."[11]

Die sozialen Umbrüche nach 1989 haben auch zahlreiche Änderungen in Rumänien hervorgerufen. Die Annahme der Verfassung von 1991[12], juristischer Ausdruck der Wechselbeziehungen die auf der politischen Bühne Rumäniens nach Dezember '89 erschienen sind, hat den allgemeinen rechtlichen Rahmen für die Strukturierung und das Funktionieren der rumänischen Gesellschaft auf demokratischen Grundlagen gebildet, die einen rechtlichen, demokratischen und sozialen Staat kennzeichnen.

Wie bereits bekannt, wurde das europäische System zum Schutz der Menschenrechte vom Europarat, einer internationalen regionalen Organisation gegründet, der heute die meisten europäischen Staaten gruppiert, welche dem Prinzip der Rechtsstaatlichkeit beigetreten sind und die Anforderungen einer echten Demokratie angenommen haben. Seit dem Herbst des Jahres 1990 hat der Europarat sich zu einem immer größeren und repräsentativeren Organismus auf europäischer Ebene entwickelt, wobei Rumänien mit vollen Rechten am 4. Oktober 1993 unter Einhaltung des damit angenommen Status, diesem beigetreten ist. Im Bezuge der Achtung der Menschenrechte, hat das rumänische Parlament die Europäische

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[8] Anthony Giddens, *Europa în epoca globală*, Bukarest, Ziua Verlag, 2007, S. 17.
[9] Ebd.
[10] Vgl. dazu Graham Watson und Katharine Durrant, *Democrația liberală și globalizarea*, Bukarest, 2007, S. 127.
[11] Ebd, S. 131-132.
[12] I. Muraru und Gh. Iancu, *Constituțiile Române –Texte. Note. Prezentare comparativă*, Bukarest, 1995, S. 185-234.

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Konvention zum Schutze der Menschenrechte genehmigt und am 17. Mai 1994 hat der Staatspräsident das Gesetz hinsichtlich dessen Ratifizierung in Kraft gesetzt.

All dies sollte als eine ständige Prüfung der Demokratie betrachtet werden, die eine bessere Verantwortung hinsichtlich der Beachtung der Menschenrechte, der Abschaffung von Missbräuchen und zur gleichen Zeit, der Anpassung nationaler Rechtsvorschriften wie auch internationaler Gesetzgebung im Einklang mit den Anforderungen der modernen europäischen Gesellschaft voraussetzt, insbesondere nachdem Rumänien Mitgliedstaat mit vollen Rechten der Europäischen Union geworden ist.

Die Veränderungen in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten haben, wie es auch natürlich ist, eine Reihe von Änderungen der Aktivitäten innerhalb der Nationalarchive[13] hervorgerufen. Sicherlich müssen diese in Vergleich mit den gesetzlichen Regelungen auf dem Gebiet der Archvistik vor dem Jahre 1989 betrachtet und analysiert werden, d.h. in unserem Fall diejenige hinsichtlich des Zuganges zum Archivbestand und zu den Sammlungen, die sich im Patrimonium der Nationlarchive befinden. Daher wurden Ende des Jahres 1971 zwei legislative Dokumente mit besonderen Auswirkungen im Bereich der archivalischen Tätigkeit angenommen. Das erste, nämlich das *Gesetz Nr. 23 zum Schutz von Staatsgeheimnissen in der Sozialistischen Republik Rumänien*, wurde am 17. Dezember 1971 angenommen, in dessen Rahmen im Jahr 1974 die *Verordnung des Innenministeriums Nr. 00545 hinsichtlich der Organisierung des Sonderarchivbestandes* erlassen wurde, durch welche der Zugang zu Dokumenten dieser Kategorie begrenzt worden ist.

Am 20. Dezember 1971 ist auch das *Dekret Nr. 472 über den nationalen Archivbestand der Sozialistischen Republik Rumänien*[14] verabschiedet worden. Kapitel IV wurde der Nutznießung von Dokumenten gewidmet, wobei der Zugang zu diesen den rumänischen Staatsbürgern erst 30 Jahre nach ihrer Entstehung erlaubt worden ist, in Ausnahmefällen jedoch, wenn dies gerechtfertigt war, konnten diese schon vor Ablauf der Frist recherchiert werden, in beiden Fällen aber nur mit der Genehmigung des Inhabers.

Die ausländischen Staatsbürger hatten die Gelegenheit Dokumente aus dem nationalen Archivbestand zu recherchieren, doch nur mit der Zustimmung der zentralen Staatsorgane, denen die inhabende Erschliessung der Dokumente untergeodnet war, "oder gegebenenfalls der Präsident des Exekutivkomitees des Kreisverwaltungsrates oder des Munizipiums Bukarest, im Einklang mit den internationalen Konventionen denen Rumänien zugestimmt hatte und anderen gesetzlichen Bestimmungen"[15].

Die Freigabe von Auszügen und beglaubigten Kopien nach Urkunden hinsichtlich der Rechte der Antragsteller, d.h. Dienstalter, Ausbildung und Eigentum, haben eine weitere Verpflichtung für die Urheber und Inhaber von Dokumenten dargestellt, die im Gesetzgebungsverfahren vorgesehen ist.

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[13] Marin Radu Mocanu, *Arhivele Naţionale şi societatea românească*, Bukarest, 1997, S. 43.
[14] "Buletinul Oficial", VII, Nr. 164, 30. Dezember 1971, S. 1254-1267.
[15] Ebd, S. 1258.

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Die Anwendung der *Verordnung des Innenministeriums Nr. 00545 vom 23/11/1974 hinsichtlich der Organisation des Sonderarchivbestandes* hatte, wie bereits erwähnt worden ist, den Zugang zu dem Schriftgut begrenzt, die in diese Kategorie fielen. Aus Dokumenten von besonderer Bedeutung bestehend, wie auch aus anderen Dokumenten, die durch ihre Verbreitung oder ihre Verwendung den Interessen des Staates zu diesem Zeitpunkt schaden konnten oder physischen oder juristischen Personen die Gelegenheit gegeben hätten, materielle Ansprüche zu erheben, wurde der spezielle Archivbestand aus der aktiven Evidenz, für welche spezielle Arbeitsinstrumente entwickelt worden sind, ausgeschlossen.

Die Recherche und Nutzung der Dokumente des speziellen Archivbestands wurde laut den oben genannten Ordnungsbestimmungen nur denjenigen Forschern gewährt, die im Forschungsplan eingetragen waren, ein Forschungsplan der seinersetis von der zentralen Propaganda-Abteilung der Rumänischen Kommunistischen Partei[16] genehmigt wurde.

Kurz nach dem 22. Dezember 1989, gleich nach der Aufhebung der *Verodnung des Innenministeriums Nr. 00.545 vom 23/11/1974* sind die Dokumente des speziellen Archivbestands in die Grundbestände und Sammlungen wieder eingegliedert worden, ebenso ist man auch mit den Publikationen vorgegangen. All diese Verordnungen wurden an die Kreisabteilungen der Nationalarchive durch das *Rundschreiben 18273 vom 05/03/1990* weitergeleitet, wobei nun die gesamte Verantwortung für die Dokumente, die der Forschungsarbeit freigegeben wurden, dem Leiter der Kreisabteilung und dem Lagerraumverantwortlichen übertragen worden sind.

Die neuen Änderungen haben, wie es auch natürlich ist, die Hoffnung einer Reform für die Institution der Archive mit sich gebracht, doch sind diese Änderungen langsamer verwirklicht worden, als anfangs angenommen[17] worden ist. Hinsichtlich der Gesetzgebung hat die Verabschiedung des *Gesetzes der Nationalarchive Nr. 16/1996*[18] den Rahmen für den Verlauf der archivalischen Tätigkeit gebildet, ganz in Einklang mit den Änderungen, die in Rumänien in den ersten Jahren nach 1989 stattgefunden haben. Wie im Falle der Verordnung Nr. 472/1971, ist der IV. Kapitel der Verwendung von Dokumente gewidmet worden, zu denen der Zugang 30 Jahre

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[16] Zwecks Zugang zu den Dokumenten des Sonderbestands und der speziellen Sammlungen musste der Forscher sich an die Leitung der Nationalarchive mit einem Empfehlungsschreiben anmelden, das folgende Daten umfaßen sollte: Name und Vorname des Forschers, die ihn empfehlende Anstalt, das Thema und die Periode der Forschungsarbeit, die Archivenbestände und – sammlungen, die zur Recherchierung notwendig sein sollten, die schriftliche Zustimmung der Propaganda – und Presseabteilung der Rumänischen Kommunistischen Partei, die bestätigen sollte, dass der Forscher Zugang zu solchen Dokumenten hat. Der Bericht des Abteilungsleiters, der diesen speziellen Dokumenten zwecks Zugang zur Forschungsarbeit beigefügt erschien, wurde dann an die Leitung der Archiven Nationalarchive weitergefördert. Erst nach dem Empfang der schriftlichen Zustimmung sollten die beantragten Dokumente dem Forscher in den Lesesälen wie auch in Räumen, die von den üblichen Sälen abgetrennt waren, oder in Räumen, die sich unter direkter Überwachung des Abteilungsleiters befanden, zur Verfügung gestellt werden.

[17] Vgl. dazu Ioan Drăgan, *Opțiuni reformatoare în arhivele românești la începutul anului 1990*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review", 85 (2008), S. 385-390.

[18] "Monitorul Oficial", VIII, I. Teil, Nr. 71 vom 9 April 1996, S. 1-8.

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nach ihrer Gründung sowohl den rumänischen Staatsbürgern wie auch den Ausländern erlaubt ist; in begründeten Fällen aber können diese Dokumente auch vor Ablauf der Frist recherchiert werden, doch "nur mit der Genehmigung der Leitung der inhabenden oder gestaltenden Einheit"[19]. Die Bestimmungen über die Verpflichtungen der Gründer und Inhaber von Dokumente hinsichtlich der Erteilung von Kopien, Auszügen und Bescheinigungen dieser Dokumente sind ihrerseits ähnlich.

Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit ist der Forschung der Dokumente gewidmet worden, die möglicherweise durch Daten und Informationen, die sie enthalten, die Nationalinteresse, die Rechte und Freiheit der Bürger verletzen könnten, oder solche, deren physischer Zustand sie in Gefahr brächte. Alle diese werden nicht für die Forschung freigegeben, wobei ihre Bestimmung vom rechtmässigen Inhaber gesichert wird, in Übereinstimmung mit Anhang Nr. 6[20] des Gesetzes der Nationalarchive Nr. 16/1996[21].

In den letzten Jahren ist die Aktualisierung des geltenden Rechtsrahmens für die Archivarbeit[22] ausgebaut worden, im Einklang mit den neuen Rechtsvorschriften einiger europäischen Länder, deren rechtlicher Rahmen im gewissem Maße mit der spezifischen rumänischen Archivistik vertragbar ist, doch leider haben sich die Ergebnisse der bisherigen Anstrengungen nicht bewahrheitet und das neue Gesetz der Nationalarchive ist weiterhin auf der Tagesordnung der Gesetzgeber in unserem Land geblieben.

In Bezug auf den Zugang zu den Archiven, war die spezialisierte Institution in unserem Land mit der Umsetzung der Empfehlung Nr. R (2000) 13 hinsichtlich einer europäischen Politik für den Zugang zu den Archiven[23], vor allem nach dem 1. Januar 2007 beschäftigt. Wie es bereits bekannt ist, hat das Ministerkomitee des Europarates dieses Dokument bei dem DCCXVII-ten Treffen der Vertreter des Ministerrates vom 13. Juli 2000 angenommen, wobei unter anderem den Mitgliedstaaten empfohlen wurde alle notwendigen Massnahmen zu treffen und die erforderlichen Schritte für Folgendes zu unternehmen:

i. die Verabschiedung von Rechtsvorschriften über den Zugang zu den Archiven, inspiriert von den Grundsätzen, die in dieser Empfehlung ausgeführt

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[19] Ebd, S. 4.

[20] Ebd, S. 8.

[21] In diese Kategorie werden folgende Dokumente eingegliedert:

a. Dokumente, welche die Staatssicherheit, Integrität und Unabhängigkeit Rumäniens betreffen, laut den Vorschriften des Grundgesetzes und der Gesetzgebung in Kraft;

b. Dokumente, die möglicherweise die individuelle Rechte der Bürger verletzen könnten;

c. Dokumente, die sich in einem schlechten Zustand befinden; dieser Zustand wird von einer speziellen Kommission festgestellt und in einer Protokolle registriert;

d. Dokumente, die noch nicht bearbeitet sind. (ebd., S. 4).

[22] Diana Joița und Ioan Lăcătușu, *Arhivele românești între tradiție și reformă*, Sfântu Gheorghe, 2007, S. 15-20; Arhivele Naționale ale României, *Raport de activitate 2007*, Bukarest, 2008, S. 27-38; Idem, *Raport de activitate 2008*, Bukarest, 2009, S. 24-31.

[23] Vgl. allgemein, Charles Kecskeméti und Iván Székely, *Accesul la arhive. Manual de linii directoare pentru implementarea Recomandării Nr. R (2000) 13 privind o politică europeană asupra accesului la arhive*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 84 (2007), supliment, S. 149.

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worden sind, oder die zur Zeit bestehenden Rechtsvorschriften in Einklang mit diesen Grundsätzen zu bringen;

ii. die möglichst weite Verbreitung der Empfehlung an alle Organisationen und interessierten Personen[24].

Die Achtung der Menschenrechte in Betracht ziehend, hat die Institution der Archive durch ihre Bestimmungen solche Verantwortungen als vorrangig eingestuft. Die wichtigsten Elemente dieser Aktivitäten sind zweifellos die Abteilung für Auskünfte und der Lesesaal. Wie bereits bekannt, ist der Zugang der Bürger zu den Dokumenten des nationalen Archivbestands in erster Linie durch die Bestimmungen des Art. 31 der *Verfassung Rumäniens* über das Recht zu Informationen von öffentlichem Interesse[25] geregelt, weiterhin durch das *Gesetz der Nationalarchive Nr. 16/1996*, das *Gesetz über den freien Zugang zu Informationen von öffentlicher Stellen Nr. 544/2001*[26], das *Gesetz über den Schutz der Personen bei der Verarbeitung personenbezogener Daten und den freien Datenverkehr Nr. 677/2001*[27], wie auch andere Weisungen und Vorschriften.

Gemäß diesen Bestimmungen haben die Nationalarchive in der Zeitspanne, die unserer Analyse unterworfen worden ist, fest entschlossen gehandelt und auf die

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[24] Zum besseren Verständnis dieser Empfehlungen, entwickelten die Autoren eine Reihe von Definitionen, wie folgt:

1. Für die Zwecke der vorliegenden Empfehlung;

a. das Wort «Archive» hat folgende Bedeutung:

i. Wird es mit einem kleinen «a» geschrieben: die Gesamtheit aller Dokumente, unabhängig des Zeitpunktes, der Form oder des Datenträgers, erstellt oder von einer Person oder Organisation im Laufe ihrer Arbeit erhalten und an das Archiv zur ständigen Aufbewahrung abgegeben; wenn nicht anderst formuliert ist, hat die vorliegende Empfehlung bloss die "öffentlichen Archive" in Sicht, dh. die von den amtlichen Stellen geschaffen Archiven;

ii. Wird es mit einem großen «A» geschriebem, so bedeutet es folgendes: die öffentlichen Institutionen, die für die Bewahrung der Archiven zuständig sind;

b. das Wort «Zugang» hat folgende Bedeutung:

i. der Archive zugeschriebene Funktion zwecks dem Benutzer die inhabenden Archivalien zur Verfügung zu stellen;

ii. Ausübung dieser Tätigkeit.

c. «Zugang zu den Archiven" bedeutet die Möglichkeit der Untersuchung der Dokumente aus dem Archiv im Einklang mit nationalen Rechtsvorschriften. Dieser Begriff «Zugang» deckt nicht die Verwendung von Dokumenten, die zu abgeleiteten Produkte führen, die einer spezifischen Regelungen unterworfen werden.

d. «Benutzer» heisst jede Person, die Datensätze untresucht, mit der Ausnahme der Angestellten, die in den Archiven tätig sind.

e. «Geschützte personenbezogene Daten» bedeutet alle Informationen über eine bestimmte oder bestimmbare natürliche Person (Datentema), über die das Gesetz, die Rechtstexte und die Gerichte der Auffassung sind, dass diese nicht ein Kommunikationstema mit der Öffentlichkeit sein kann, ohne dass die Gefahr läuft, den Interessen der betreffenden Person zu schaden (ebd., S. 86-87).

[25] I. Muraru und Gh. Iancu, *op. cit.*, S. 193-194.

[26] "Monitorul Oficial", XIII, I. Teil, Nr. 663 vom 23. Oktober 2001, S. 5-7.

[27] "Monitorul Oficial", XIII, I. Teil , Nr. 790 vom 12. Dezember 2001, S. 1-14.

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Anträge der Bittsteller um ihre rechtmäßigen Rechte[28] Antwort gegeben (patrimoniale Rechte, Rechte von Personen die vom politischen System das zwischen dem 6. September 1940 und dem 6. März 1945 eingesetzt worden ist, aus ethnischen Zugehörigkeitsgründen verfolgt worden sind, Rechte von Personen die aus politischen Gründen unter dem kommunistischen Regime verfolgt worden sind, usw.). Unter der Berücksichtigung, dass es heute in Rumänien keine offizielle soziale Organisationen gibt, welche die Interessen und Rechte der älteren Menschen als eine besondere soziale Kategorie oder eine allgemeine Einstellung der Öffentlichkeit hinsichtlich der Altersdiskriminierung[29] verteidigen, ist die Tätigkeit des Büros für öffentliche Beziehungen umso bemerkenswerter, da die meisten Bittsteller Rentner sind.

Die gleichen Überlegungen sind auch im Falle der Aktivität des Lesesaales gültig, welcher den Bürgern, unter Berücksichtigung des rechtlichen Rahmens, den Zugang zum dokumentarischen Erbe zwecks wissenschaftlicher Nutzung ermöglicht. Zu gleicher Zeit trägt durch die strikte Einhaltung der in Kraft getretenen Rechtsvorschriften und dem Verbot des Zuganges zwecks Forschung durch den Lesesaal der Dokumente, welche die Rechte und Freiheiten der Person verletzen könnten, die Institution der Nationalarchive zur vollen Achtung der Menschenrechte bei.

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[28] Aus dem Wunsch, die Vielzahl der Dokumente, die von den Nationalarchiven derzeit zugänglich gemacht worden sind, und die im Jahr 2007 beantragt worden sind seinen folgende erwähnt: "Landwirtschaftsbuch mit Datensätze der Grundstücke in der Zeitspanne 1945-1960; Protokolle der Eintragung verschiedener Besitzümer in das Grundbuch; Eigentumstiteln die den Grunderwerbern laut der Gesetze der Bodenreform in den Jahren 1864, 1921 und 1945 erteilt worden sind; Dokumente für die ländlichen Eigentümer die laut dem Gesetz Nr.187/1945 (Güter 50 Ha übetreffend) und des Erlasses Nr. 83/1949 (Herrenhäuser und Landshäuser von 50Ha) enteignet worden sind; statistische Situationen hinsichtlich der «gespendeten» Grundstücke an das Ministerium für Landwirtschaft und Domänen, Urkunden, die die Enteignung der Besitztüme der «Kulak» bezeugen; Beschlüsse der Volksräte infolge dessen verschiedene Grundstücke und/ oder auch Immobilien vom Staat übernommen wurden; Stand der Eigentumserklärungen der Volkszählung aus dem Jahre 1948 (diese sind die einzigen, die Informationen über die Waldflächen gewährleisten); Kauf- und Verkaufsurkunden, Erbschaftverfügungen, Schenkungsurkunden die bei der Notar- oder Gerichtsinstanz abgeschlossen wurden; Urteilssprüche die vom Notar- oder Gerichtsinstanz ausgestellt wurden, Enteignungserlässe mit Anhangslisten die vom Präsidium der Großen Nationalversammlung und des Staatsrates ausgestelltworden sind; Dokumente, die sich auf die Eigentümer der Flüchtlinge aus dem Cadrilater im Jahre 1940 beziehen und die für die Erhaltung der Schadenersätze notwendig sind, die durch das Gesetz Nr. 9/1998, durch das Gesetz 97/2005 ergänzt, vorgesehen wurden; Bescheinigungen für das Arebitsleben und die daraus folgenden Einnahmen zwecks Neuberechnung der Renten, gemäß dem Regierungsbeschlusse Nr. 1550/2005; Flüchtlingsbelege aus Nord-Siebenbürgen, Bessarabien, Nord-Bukowina, Bescheinigungen über die Durchführung der militärischen Ausbildung bei den Arbeitskolonnen der Generaldirektion des Arbeitsdienstes; Urkunden, aus denen die Zahlung von Steuern für verschiedene Grundstücke (Grundsteuer Abschriften) hervorgeht; Urkunden des Familienstandes, Urkunden zum Nachweis des regelmäßigen Besuches und dem Abschluss von Lehrgängen verschiedener Institutionen des Unterrrichtewesens (Schulabschriften)" (Arhivele Naționale ale României, *Raport de activitate 2007* cit., S. 85-86).

[29] Sorin Rădulescu, *Sociologia vârstelor*, Bukarest, 1994, S. 163.

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Fallstudie

Als Beispiel präsentieren wir folgende Fallstudie, die von der in den für öffentliche Beziehungen Büros, bzw. den Lesesälen der Nationalarchiven und deren Abteilungen geleisteten Tätigkeiten ausgeht und auf eine Reihe von quantitativen Daten der letzten vier Jahrzehnte[30] beruht. Die vorgeführten Daten sollen jedoch bloss als vergleichende Analyse betrachtet werden und nicht als strenge Untersuchung der angegebenen Zahlen, wobei die deutlichen Unterschiede von einer Periode zur nächsten ganz klar abgelesen werden können. Darüber hinaus soll noch angedeutet werden, dass einige der Unterlagen von den Dienstleistungen, Ämtern und Fachabteilungen stammen, die auch während unserer Analyse Papiere erstellen, die archivalisch verarbeitet werden, so dass die meisten Daten aus den Jahresberichten der archivalischen Tätigkeit entnommen worden sind. Somit sind manchmal die Zahlen bloss ungefähr angegeben oder für einige Jahren gar nicht vorhanden. Allerdings halten wir eine orientative Darstellung dieser Daten für das Verständnis unserer Ausführungen als notwendig und relevant.

Stand der Eingaben physischer und juristischer Personen an die Nationalarchive im Zeitraum 1970-1989

Nr.	**Jahr**	Anzahl der Eingaben	**Bemerkungen**
1	1970	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
2	1971	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
3	1972	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
4	1973	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
5	1974	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
6	1975	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
7	1976	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
8	1977	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
9	1978	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
10	1979	13.965	
11	1980	16.209	
12	1981	15.725	
13	1982	14.709	
14	1983	14.796	
15	1984	18.027	
16	1985	15.434	
17	1986	15.000	
18	1987	9.800	
19	1988	14.628	
20	1989	12.328	

[30] Die Daten wurden von den Mitarbeitern des Analysen-, Syntheseamtes und des Sekretariats der Nationalarchive zur Verfügung gestellt, denen wir auch auf diesem Wege danken.

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Stand der Eingaben physischer und juristischer Personen an die Nationalarchiven im Zeitraum 1990-2009

Nr.	Jahr	Anzahl der Eingaben	Bemerkungen
1	1990	43.500	
2	1991	120.000	
3	1992	80.000	
4	1993	86.587	
5	1994	126.936	
6	1995	69.000	
7	1996	50.000	
8	1997	65.566	
9	1998	200.151	
10	1999	36.000	
11	2000	37.361	
12	2001	51.981	
13	2002	83.985	
14	2003	110.191	
15	2004	103.978	
16	2005	177.181	
17	2006	124.520	
18	2007	89.515	
19	2008	76.427	
20	2009	78.294	

Wie bereits erwähnt, ist die Zahl der Eingaben seit 1989 stark gestiegen, wobei die Nationalarchive dem gesellschaftlichen Druck als Folge der erlassenen Rechtsvorschriften hinsichtlich der Regelung patrimonialer Rechte ausgesetzt waren (die Rekonstitution der Eigentumsrechte hinsichtlich der missbräuchlich übernommenen Gebäude unter dem kommunistischen Regime, die Erhaltung von Renten seitens der Personen, die politisch verfolgt waren, die Ausfüllung der Arbeitsbücher, usw.) und das unter Bedingungen in denen die Zahl der Angestellten der Institution nur geringfügig zunahm. Grundsätzlich sind Dokumente, die als Beweismaterial vor Gericht oder den zuständigen Behörden für den Beweis dieser Rechte dienen, die etwa zu 70-80% von der Institution der Nationalarchive ausgestellt worden sind.

Wir können ohne Zweifel behaupten, dass die letzten Jahrzehnte die Beantwortung der Eingaben seitens physischer und juristischer Personen den grössten Teil unserer Aktivität darstellt, was auch aus den oben vorgelegten Tabellen ganz klar ersichtlich ist.

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Anzahl der Forscher, die im Lesesaal der Nationalarchive im Zeitraum 1970-1989 recherchiert haben

Nr.	Jahr	Anzahl der Forscher	Bemerkungen
1	1970	2.600	
2	1971	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
3	1972	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
4	1973	2.529	
5	1974	3.110	
6	1975	2.449	
7	1976	2.705	
8	1977	2.613	
9	1978	-	Es wurden keine Daten ermittelt
10	1979	2.957	
11	1980	3.200	
12	1981	2.574	
13	1982	2.730	
14	1983	2.549	
15	1984	2.546	
16	1985	2.090	
17	1986	2.000	
18	1987	1.700	
19	1988	1.578	
20	1989	1.325	

Anzahl der Forscher, die im Lesesaal der Nationalarchive im Zeitraum 1990-2009 recherchiert haben

Nr.	Jahr	Anzahl der Forscher	Bemerkungen
1	1990	1.700	
2	1991	3.693	
3	1992	2.835	
4	1993	3.164	
5	1994	4.547	
6	1995	4.610	
7	1996	7.710	
8	1997	6.282	
9	1998	9.500	
10	1999	5.938	
11	2000	5.623	
12	2001	5.889	
13	2002	5.851	
14	2003	5.366	
15	2004	5.724	

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16	2005	5.271	
17	2006	7.807	
18	2007	4.100	
19	2008	4.700	
20	2009	5.219	

Somit ist in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten die Anzahl der Forscher, die in den Lesesälen der Nationalarchive recherchiert haben im Vergleich zur Zeitspanne 1970-1989 wesentlich gestiegen, vor allem dank des nun freizügigen Zuganges rumänischer und ausländischer Staatsbürger[31]. Dabei muss aber in Betracht gezogen werden, dass nach 1989 eine Reihe von Forschungseinrichtungen, Studienzentren wie auch staatliche und private Universitäten gegründet worden sind, die die Anzahl der Fachleute, die sich mit dem Studium in den Archive zwecks Durchführung wichtiger Forschungsprojekte auseinandersetzen, gewachsen ist. Die Ergebnisse liessen nicht auf sich warten und so erschienen eine Reihe von Arbeiten in zahlreichen Bereichen, die ein besseres Verstehen der Dynamik des gesellschaftlichen Lebens in unserem Land in den letzten Jahrzehnten gewährleisten.

Aufgrund der Analyse dieser Daten kann die Schlussfolgerung gezogen werden, dass die Institution der Nationalarchive im Gesellschafstleben Rumäniens nach 1989 aus der Perspektive ihrer Leistungen bezüglich der Achtung der Menschenrechte eine sehr wichtige Rolle spielt und dass die vor ihr gesetzten Ziele in unbestreitbare, konkrete Aktionen umgesetzt worden sind. Ebenso kann behauptet werden, dass die Institution der Nationalarchive durch ihre Aktivität zum guten Verlauf der Tätigkeit der Rechtsstaatlichkeit, dem Schutz und der Garantie der Menschenrechte beigetragen hat – wesentliche Bedingung, die einmal erfüllt, die Beschleunigung der Integration Rumäniens in die Europäische Union erwirkt hat.

Übersetzung des Textes: Anemaria Czernak

[31] Zuerst sollten auch andere Daten in Betracht gezogen werden: Anzahl der Forscher per Kategorie, d.h. rumänische und ausländische Staatsbürger, Anzahl der beantragten archivalischen Einheiten, Mikrofilmspulen und veröffentlichte Publikationen, Frequenz der Forscher in den Lesesälen, doch da solche Informationen nicht in allen Berichten der letzten vier Jahrzehnte erscheinen, konnte eine komplette Datenidentifizierung nicht durchgeführt werden.

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Digital Codicology and Contextual Editing of Medieval Manuscripts

Zdeněk Uhlíř

Keywords: *digital codicology*; *medieval manuscripts*; *editing*

At the turn of the third millennium, important changes affecting all of the substantial areas of human life, i.e. the cultural, social, economic as well as political, took place. These changes are so distinctive and extensive that they entirely transform current human reality and in connection with that strongly influence contemporary human experience. If I am to use a somewhat frivolous *bon mot*, rather than rave with Venezuelan icon Hugo Chávez for Socialism of the 21st century[1], it is better to consider the state in the third millennium with Duke of Liechtenstein Hans-Adam II[2]. One of the first to become aware of it was Alvin Toffler, who wrote about the rise of the so-called information wave[3]; Don Tapscott saw it in brighter contours when he promoted so-called digital economics, or so-called macro/wikinomics[4]; and I myself have attempted to describe new stimuli which arise from the altered circumstances for manuscript work and manuscript librarianship[5]. Some of these ideas seem to be too distant from the scientific environment; some are hardly acceptable for more traditionally oriented scientists in their organisational and methodological conservatism, so that particularly in the humanities they found more or less no response for a long time. It has only been in the course of the last few years, when the prophetic enthusiasm of the protagonists of the innovations has somewhat worn off and when the continuity of ideas in the discontinuity of discourses has established itself on the one hand and the traditional and static stone institutions have come to terms with the dynamic network environment on the other hand, that the humanities have taken the new ideas and possibilities as well as opportunities into account, especially when the – say – borderless world on the internet has been given

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[1] See Heinz Dieterich Stefan, *Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela: The World Revolution advances through Hugo Chávez.* in *Axis of Logic: Finding Clarity in the 21st Century Mediaplex* [http://www.axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/Article_21736.shtml] [24 April 2011]; cf. *Socialismus 21. století*, in *Wikipedie: Otevřená encyklopedie* [http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialismus_21._stolet%C3%AD#Hugo_Ch.C3.A1vez_a_socialismus_21._stolet.C3.AD] [24 April 2011].

[2] Hans Adam Liechtenstein, Fürst, II.: *Der Staat im drittem Jahrtausend,* Triesen, 2009.

[3] Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave*, London, 1981.

[4] Don Tapscott, *Digital Economy: Promise and Peril in the Age of Networked Intelligence*, New York, 1995; Idem, *Wikinomics: How Mass Collaboration Changes Everything*, London, 2010; Idem and Antony D. Williams, *Macrowikinomics: Rebooting Business and the World*, London, 2010.

[5] Zdeněk Uhlíř, *Teorie a metodologie elektronicko-digitálního zpracování rukopisů a hybridní knihovna*, Prague, 2002.

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limits[6]. It has been roughly two years since a number of conferences emerged on the topics of digital codicology, digital palaeography, digital diplomatics, etc. [7], accompanied by some conference proceedings[8].

For the disciplines of the humanities, these changes undoubtedly have entirely essential consequences. These are particularly two new facts. The first of them is the discovery, application and establishment of information-communication technologies, so-called computers, with the main issues not being technical but mental, intellectual and cultural, because if we consider the lower level, the activity of a computer is incomparably faster and more precise than natural human mental acts. In practice, it means that some routine operations are better entrusted to computers, simply because they attain better performance and results; and on the other hand, this leaves more time for the person to evaluate the component results and to prepare the further progress more elaborately in terms of methodology. Also the memory of a computer has a greater capacity than the long-term memory of a person – and it has yet another advantage: in comparison with the human mind, it is external like any other written (epigraphic, palaeographic, typographic) record or audio or video, but it is also internal with respect to the entity of a computer, so it is much more coherent both with the acts of the computer and the acts of the human mind than external memory in the traditional, i.e. non-computer world and conception. The earlier dichotomy of external memory and the acts of the human mind is being superseded by the trichotomy of external memory, the acts of computers and the acts of the human mind; this situation is significantly more complicated, but it allows a person to do away with the resolution of routine tasks on the one hand and on the other to structure more deeply the individual activities, thus providing a greater perspective for the distribution of team work. On a higher level, thus if computers are connected in a network with individual nodes, the utilisation of information-communication technologies entails both a reduction of the dependence on time all the way to nearly zero, because the network functions and the network services are provided twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week regardless of where the user is and where the source data are, and much greater segmentation of the activities and fragmentation of the tasks spatially and temporally and between individual persons, so it is better to delegate the tasks assigned so far *lege artis* to one person (e.g. manuscript cataloguing, text editing) to more people on the basis of qualification and ability keys or simply according to the different levels of

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[6] Jack Goldsmith, and Tim Wu, *Who Controls the Internet: Illusions of a Borderless World*, [Oxford], 2006.

[7] See for instance the conference *The Digital Middle Ages: Teaching and Research* in New York, 16-17 June 2010 [http://margot.uwaterloo.ca/DMAConference/index.html] [24 April 2011]; *7th International Conference of the European Society for Textual Scholarship* in Pisa on 25-27 November 2010 [http://www.textualscholarship.eu/conference-2010.html] [24 April 2011]; *Digital Edition und Forschungsbibliothek* in Mainz on 13-14 January 2011 [http://www.medienkonvergenz.uni-mainz.de/veranstaltungen/tagungen/digitale_editionen/] [24 April 2011] and many others.

[8] See e.g. *Kodikologie und Paläographie im digitalen Zeitalter / Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age* (ed. by Malte Rehbein, Patrick Sahle, Torsten Schaßan), Norderstedt, 2009.

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experience gained. Whereas the second half of the nineteenth century for the humanities meant the rise of professionalisation and the specialisation associated with it, the turn of the twenty-first century has meant for them pressure on the accession of paths – say – to industrialisation. Some could see it as fulfilment, others as dehumanisation[9], but to express myself to it would go beyond my considerations here.

The second fact arising from the fundamental changes of recent times is the trend heading towards the formation of information and knowledge society, or in an ideally more optimistic form towards the state as an enterprise of services. In connection with that, various, often contradictory streams have appeared, but all are related to contemporary society represented as the social state or the welfare state. On the one hand, there is an effort for truly thorough privatisation and the limitation of the state only to the performance of the functions of power and order and for the deprivation of sovereignty, which it acquired in the course of modernity, hence an attempt to place the state in its pre-modern role, but on the other hand there is the opposite effort to make everything public, by publishing almost everything, which of course encounters more or less brutal financial limits, so quite vigorous changes and reforms must be assumed also in this extreme, although many here profess the slogan 'after us, the deluge', because – in Keynes' terms – we are all in the long-term perspective dead[10]. When one extreme speaks of productivity, the other must speak at least of efficiency, and both must speak of the deepening division of labour, which reacts to the heterogeneous needs and inhomogeneous consumption to which society has come. It arises from this that pressure is increasing for the humanities to undergo a division of labour in the sense that it will suit the much more diverse needs of reception than some are capable of imagining and others to admit. Although the gathering of component results is, like it has been so far, based on thorough specialisation and it will continue to be so in future, the pressure increases for further elaboration in the interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary directions (which already is a problem for many) and for utilisation with an eye to extra-scientific purposes (for the majority of humanities scholars it is most likely dangerous blasphemy). In sum, it means that – no matter how we evaluate it, moreover it far surpasses the topic of this article – specialisation stops being socially and culturally appreciated as it was in the classical period of Ortega y Gasset's 'rebellion of the masses'[11], and that the majority of people simply and undoubtedly want humanities researchers to present the results of their work for discussion and strongly dislike being told particularly by historians which content their historical awareness should have. If freedom is so much discussed, albeit many times quite dubiously and often very inaptly, then the expression of freedom is to be foolish and uneducated, it allows a person to understand their efforts for independence and autonomy.

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[9] Cf. Jiří Cejpek, *Informace, komunikace a myšlení: Úvod do informační vědy* [Information, Communication and Thought: An Introduction to Information Science], 2nd edition, Prague, 2005 (first edition, 1998).

[10] See John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, New York, 1964 (first edition, 1936).

[11] See José Ortega y Gasset, *La rebelión de las masas: El tema de nuestro tempo*, Madrid, 2010.

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The first response to these dynamic, turbulent and extensive changes is the building of a scientific infrastructure in the humanities and the discovery of the so-called *digital humanities*[12], digital history[13] or digital philology[14] and on a lower level digital codicology[15], digital palaeography[16], digital diplomatics[17] etc. etc. This diverse-activity area demanding in terms of time, personnel, finances and materials is often neglected, because it is not science in the narrow sense, as which only the so-called basic research is usually considered. Generally, this is however a fundamental error, because this area undoubtedly involves science in the wider definition, hence with a view of the intellectual prerequisites of so-called basic research. If we consider it in terms of organisational bureaucracy, which is not only typical but also completely impossible to leave aside for the form of richly structured society in our time, then the building of a scientific infrastructure must be considered as so-called applied research. Yet this distinction, although possible and entirely rational in a certain sense, seems to me as also somewhat rigid, narrow-minded and pedantic. It is necessary to repeat again and be constantly aware that scientific infrastructure and its building are not only a material-technical and organisational prerequisite of normal

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[12] Cf. *A Companion to Digital Humanities* (ed. by Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, John Unsworth) [http://www.digitalhumanities.org/companion/] [24 April 2011]; *Digital Humanities Quarterly* [http://digitalhumanities.org/dhq/]; *Digital Medievalist* [http://www.digitalmedievalist.org/index.html]; *Culturomics* [http://www.culturomics.org/]. In a somewhat neo-Orthodox context, see Filip Horáček, *Google, digital humanities a technologie budoucnosti* [http://www.inflow.cz/google-digital-humanities-technologie-budoucnosti] [24 April 2011].

[13] See Z. Uhlíř, *Digital History: Problem of Creation of Resources*, in *Library and Information Services in Astronomy. IV.* 2-5 July, Prague, Czech Republic (ed. by B. Forbín, E. Brusin, M. Wolf), Washington, DC, 2003, p. 127-135 [http://www.eso.org/gen-fac/libraries/lisa4/ uhlir.pdf]] [24 April 2011].

[14] Cf. *Digital Philology* [http://www.arts-humanities.net/digital_philology].

[15] See Z. Uhlíř, Adolf Knoll, *Manuscriptorium Digital Library and ENRICH Project: Means for Dealing with Digital Codicology and Palaeography*, in: *Kodikologie und Paläographie im digitalen Zeitalter* cit., p. 65-76; Elena Pierazzo, P. A. Stokes, *Putting the text back into context: a codicological approach to manuscript transcription*, in *Kodikologie und Paläographie im digitalen Zeitalter. 2 / Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age. 2* (ed. by Malte Rehbein, Patrick Sahle, Torsten Schaßan), Norderstedt, 2011 [in print].

[16] Cf. *Digital Palaeography: ESF Exploratory Workshop.* Convened by Malte Rehbein. 20-22 July 2011, Würzburg, Germany [http://www.esf.org/activities/exploratory-workshops/humanities-sch/workshops-detail.html?ew=10865] [19 April 2011].

[17] See *Digitale Diplomatik: Neu Technologien in der historischen Arbeit mit Urkunden* (ed. by Georg Vogeler), Köln-Vienna, 2009; Georg Vogeler, *Charters Encoding Initiative (TEI): Zur Möglichkeiten der Integration mit Hilfe eines Standards für Urkundendigitalisierung*, in *Alte Archive – neue Technologien* (ed. by Thomas Aigner, Karin Winter), St. Pölten, 2006, p. 181-198; Idem, *Charters Encoding Initiative Overview*, in *Digital Proceedings of the Lawrence J. Schoenberg Symposium on Manuscript Studies in the Digital Age*, Vol. 2: Iss. 1, Article 8 (2010) [http://repository.upenn.edu/ljsproceedings/vol2/iss1/8] [19 April 2011]; *Digitale Diplomatik: Die Diplomatik auf dem Weg zur eScience?*, in *Digitale Diplomatik: Die historische Arbeit mit Urkunden in der digitalen Welt – Digital Diplomatics: Historical research with medieval charters in a digital world*, Köln, 2009; Georg Vogeler, *Digital Edition: Beispiel Urkunden*, in *Geschichte „in die Hand genommen"*, Munich, 2005, p. 209-226.

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scientific operation but primarily a paradigmatic issue in the strictly epistemological sense. It means that it determines the basic imagination on the individual and socio-cultural level and on its basis actually all of the defined topics of research along with its disciplinary structure and that in the final result it determines what is worthy of scientific interest and what is not. By disregarding the scientific infrastructure and its building, both the scope of considerations with respect to their subject and the human mind with respect to the diversity of its acts become distinctly limited, and consequently thinking lapses into simple matters of fact and becomes uncritical, which is however *contradictio in adiecto*. For digital codicology and its building, a scientific infrastructure represents several qualitatively different levels, among which it is necessary to emphasise at least the following five.

First of all, it is the digitisation of the sources. Digitisation is still frequently understood in the technicist sense as a mere conversion of media, as the transposition of a document or paper into another form, not as a transformation of its internal structure[18]. In other words, this level thus considers as the main and essentially only goal of digitisation the creation of digital copies of historical papers or documents and making them accessible (at the beginning of the digitisation efforts exclusively only on solid external carriers like CDs, later dominantly in a network digital environment). While it allows a much easier access to historical sources to a significant degree independently of time and space, it does not allow researchers to utilise digital tools and new methodological approaches or other means of work with information-communication technologies but still refers them again to the traditional work methods and techniques typical for the existing, or today already vanishing printed information and communication environment. Consequently, if digitisation is to have any professional and scientific significance at all, it is necessary to admit that it is not only making images[19]. Particularly, it is necessary to accomplish not only the transposition of a manuscript into digital images but also its transformation into the form of a virtual book[20]. It means that the images-digital copies of a manuscript, hence the data, must be complemented by meta data, i.e. the data on the data, namely at the very least the descriptive metadata, providing an analytical description, hence a specification of the manuscript's content, rather than a detailed description of its physical form and physical state, and structural metadata, describing the ordering of

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[18] See Z. Uhlíř, *Uživatel artefaktu a uživatel komunikátu ve virtuálním prostředí: kulturní význam technologie*, "Ikaros" [online], 7 (2001) [19 April 2011] [http://www.ikaros.cz/uzivatel-artefaktu-a-uzivatel-komunikatu-ve-virtualnim-prostredi-kulturni-vyznam-technologie]; Idem, *Súborný katalog historických fondov a stredoeurópska spolupráca* [*A Union Catalogue of the Historical Collections and Central-European Cooperation*], Bratislava, 2002, [p. 6].

[19] See Idem, *Digitization is Not Only Making Images: Manuscript Studies and Digital Processing of Manuscripts*, "Knygotyra" 51 (2008), p. 148-162 [http://www.leidykla.vu.lt/fileadmin/Knygotyra/51/148-162.pdf] [19 April 2011].

[20] See Idem, *Příprava dat pro digitalizaci rukopisů, její význam a souvislosti* [*The Preparation of Data for Manuscript Digitisation, Its Importance and Context*], "Národní knihovna: Knihovnická revue" 10 (1999), 3, p. 117-129 [http://digit.nkp.cz/CzechArticles/Pripravadat.html] [19 April 2011]. Cf. also Idem, *Digitalizace rukopisů mezi ochranou fondů a historickou prací* [*Manuscript Digitisation between Collection Protection and Historical Work*], "Národní knihovna: Knihovnická revue" 7 (1997), 6, p. 207-212 [http://digit.nkp.cz/CzechArticles/Uhlir.html] [19 April 2011].

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the individual images, i.e. coordinating or correlating the physical pages of a manuscript with their images-digital copies, as well as the foliation in the technical sense, lying in the simple ascending order of the natural numbers and the so-called valid foliation, taking into account both the historical structure of the manuscript and the citation rules arising from it. Consequently, a virtual book created in this way allows for both simple orientation, i.e. browsing, and targeted navigation, i.e. searching. And at the same time, although it is represented by advanced modern technologies, it makes it possible for the continuity of ideas to be manifested in the discontinuity of discourses, i.e. for a substantial part of both the common experience and sophisticated research traditions to remain preserved in the different formal expression, because the references to the so-called valid foliation lead to the earlier specialised literature and from there all the way to the beginnings of professional manuscript work in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. Moreover, it is possible to assign also fulltext data to the digital copies of manuscripts-image data, namely in two different functions: as editions of original historical texts contained in the digitised manuscript records and as specialised texts created newly on the basis of historical texts or their manuscript carriers as various types of interpretation. And since in the case of the editions of original historical texts it is possible within the usual linear text to mark the interface of the pages of the model and thus correlate these texts with the digital images-copies of the source manuscript and since it is also possible in the form of hypertext of the basic linear text to make notes and create a context with other related historical texts and run these hyperlinks at one's pleasure almost to infinity, the digital world offers an inexhaustible number of possibilities and even opportunities, which in the traditional printed environment not only did not exist but were entirely unimaginable. Although the preparation of data for manuscript digitisation is thus not scientific action in the usual sense, it still has almost revolutionary significance for this well-established science.

Second, it is necessary to take into consideration the aggregation of resources[21]. Building the resources in a digital network environment with a view to codicology entails the association of the individual digital copies of manuscripts including the additional information to be able to work with them from the only place of the digital network environment. It would, however, be entirely insufficient if this place were a common domestic website, because it would allow only orientation in the manuscripts made accessible, i.e. browsing, but would not allow targeted navigation among them even within its framework, i.e. searching. On the other hand, it is desirable, even indispensible, for every resource in the network environment making mediaeval and early modern manuscripts accessible to be furnished with a database and information system relating to the end user and allowing, or facilitating, work for him/her as well as with an administrative system allowing and conditioning

[21] See Idem and A. Knoll, *Manuscriptorium Digital Library and ENRICH Project: Means for Dealing with Digital Codicology and Palaeography*, in *Kodikologie und Paläographie im digitalen Zeitalter* cit., p. 65-76; Z. Uhlíř, *Unitatea polimorfă a culturii Europei Centrale: proiectele ENRICH și REDISCOVER*, "Revista Română de biblioteconomie și știința informării" 6 (2010), 2, p. 53-64.

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its sophisticated internal organisation. Such a resource then is not a mere digital replica of a physical library with its depository, catalogue, loan and basic information services but much rather a kind of elementary heuristic tool assuming not only the functions of unqualified as well as qualified service personnel but also replacing some basic, routine research activities. It is thus evident that the building of the individual resources making mediaeval and early modern manuscripts accessible already in itself in the indicated sense significantly surpasses the opportunities that were offered by the traditional scientific infrastructure until just recently, that hence already now the progress is substantial, in spite of the fact that the established scientific circles are usually not able – or willing – to see it. The aggregation of the resources, i.e. their association, further multiplies or even exponentiates their infrastructural significance. While it is possible in the simple form of a plain portal, which makes a uniform user interface accessible to the end user, under this interface the aggregated resources are accessed separately. The disadvantage of this method is not so much its relative slowness, although also that may play a role in the user's evaluation, but predominantly the inconsistency of the searching, because the heterogeneity of the original meta/data is preserved in that their different information depth remains unconverted, and consequently unchanged, but also in that they maintain their original format, which is usually in various such resources different and is not converted into a uniform structure. In this way, it often occurs that they 'mix apples and pears' and the results of searching do not always have to be homogenous and sometimes they are not even comparably reliable. For this reason, it is better, although it is materially, technically and financially more demanding, to aggregate the resources in such a way that their descriptive metadata, i.e. catalogue entries, are aggregated and are converted to a uniform format, whereas the data, the digital images and alternately fulltexts remain distributed in the original resources on the servers of individual partners of the aggregate resource. The advantage of this centralised-distributed conception of an aggregate resource is on the one hand the significantly faster as well as completely consistent searching, providing considerably greater comparability and reliability, which is only minimally disturbed by the different information depth of the descriptive metadata, i.e. of the catalogue entries from the original resources. In this way, the joint search finds manuscripts which had never until now been found in it. To attain the same result with traditional heuristic methods is infinitely more exhausting and slower and in a number of cases is not possible at all. The aggregation of resources is thus a substantial contribution of digital codicology to the development of the field, because it allows not only work with the individual phenomenon, which so far has been done by generations of manuscript employees of all types, but also work with a mass phenomenon and true development of quantitative codicology, which has until now not been possible or at the very least has been extremely difficult.

Third, it is a level entailing an integration of services[22]. Service in this sense is a new concept in relation to the codicological research not appearing in its full

[22] Idem, *Evropský projekt ENRICH a jeho význam pro vybudování virtuálního badatelského prostředí*, "Knihovna: Knihovnická revue" 21 (2010), p. 5-14.

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extent until in the digital network environment. In essence, it is what is called strategic services in the other cultural, social and economic sectors[23]. They are hence neither the personal services which have traditionally been offered to end users by libraries and other memory institutions since time immemorial nor the type of services which has been replacing routine research work in the digital environment and is a component of the previous digitisation and aggregation levels. This type of services is in contrast much more sophisticated, because it already affects some elements of actual research work in that it makes it possible to perform various comparisons of the sources or their conversion to a more usable form, but it is necessary to point out that this level presupposes the transformation of the original physical analogue sources into the form of digital data, whether turnover or full/text or sound or multimodal/multimedia. In short, manuscripts are at this level usable solely in the form of digital image copies and their further processing exclusively in the form of electronic fulltexts, and so on, etc. It means that whatever exists only in traditional printed or written and other, simply analogue form does not exist for this way of utilisation and elaboration, because it is not machine-readable and consequently it is essentially ungraspable. It is in retrospect completely clear from this how colossal an importance the digitisation of the written and cultural as well as the scientific heritage has, because without it irreplaceable losses occur. If then some more conservatively oriented researchers claim that digitisation has no significance for scientific codicological research [24], they are deeply mistaken and the implementation of this negative stance of theirs would have far-reaching consequences for the future position of codicology and all of the more closely as well as more distantly related disciplines already in the very near future. Nevertheless, the point is not only that the position of codicology among the other disciplines would become more inferior, but that without integration of the services it would also lose the stimulus for its development to a significant extent, because it is clear that the digitisation and aggregation of resources move the focus of codicology (like with bibliology) from the current dominant emphasis on outward features and formal attributes to inner features and content attributes. This removes codicology's tendency to become an independent, more or less isolated, discipline and integrates it much more tightly in the entire cluster of historical and philological fields as a kind

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[23] Jo Bryson, *Managing Information Services: A Transformational Approach.* Aldershot, 2006; Larry Nash White, *Library Performance and Service Competition: Developing Strategic Responses.* Oxford 2008; Terry Kendrick, *Developing Strategic Marketing Plans that Really Work: A Toolkit for Public Libraries*, London, 2006; *Breaking through the Walls: The Strategy of the National Library of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 2003; Karen Donoghue, *Built for Use: Driving Profitability through the User Experience* [electronic resource], New York, c. 2002; Sue Roberts and Jennifer Rowley, *Managing Information Services*, London, 2004; Joseph R. Matthews, *The Evaluation and Measurement of Library Services*, Westport, 2007.

[24] Cf. Michele C. Ferrari, *Impuls und Bestätigung. Alte und neue Erfahrungen mit Handschriftenkatalogen*, in *Katalogisierung mittelalterlicher Handschriften in internationaler Perspektive.* Vorträge der Handschriftenbearbeitertagung vom 24. bis zum 27. Oktober 2005 in München. Herausgegeben von der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 53) (ed. by Claudia Fabian and Bettina Wagner), Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 15-36.

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of method of general cultural-historical work. It is best to provide these services through relatively independent tools but at the same time through suitable application interfaces integrated into large digital libraries making mediaeval and early modern manuscripts accessible. This ensures both the possibility to upload the results into the resource with which the tool is integrated and on the other hand the possibility to download them and provide them to another resource or make them a component of some outcome of electronic publication. Such tools have already begun to be developed successfully and effectively, and it is the question of a few years before they are used in practice. They include particularly a text comparer, allowing the determination of the relative nearness of individual texts within a groups of texts, an image/page comparer, allowing a distinction between individual types of the formal appearance of the pages (image – text – notation – bordure – table – diagram) or the determination of relative similarity of individual images/pages within a group of images/pages, or a tool for automatic handwritten text recognition (HTR) and its correction[25]. It is likely that these and possibly other tools will be a large stimulus for the development of digital codicology.

Fourth, there is the level of the personalisation of the environment[26]. This does not mean having the possibility to create one's own account in the formal sense only within the individual resources, i.e. the existence of an access password, on the basis of which the end user is recognised. It much rather means that each end user of this or that resource has his/her own digital space, which s/he can use independently. Having a personal account, i.e. a personal space, available entails first of all the possibility to accumulate the results of previous work and hence also to have one's own tools for acquiring results as well as for their further processing and subsequent utilisation in the digital network environment there. It arises from this that such a personal environment cannot exist offline on the personal computer of the respective end user but that it must be placed online on the server at one of the nodes of the digital network environment. This can be imagined in two ways: either as an account at some institution dealing with codicological research but not having historical collections, hence most likely some university or other academic institution, or as an account with one of the aggregate resources which at the same time provides access to the integrated strategic services facilitating work with the written and documentary heritage. This is the easiest way to provide the opportunity of connection to the individual digital copies of manuscripts in their structured form of virtual books (from a placement outside the module of the relevant resource, it would work only with difficulty in this structured form through persistent addressing). And there is still another advantage here tied to this type of personal space. The user of the personal space may reserve all of his/her space for himself/herself and nobody else or make all of this space or some of its component parts or even individual documents and files accessible to other selected persons and also quite generally to all users of

[25] See *A database for handwritten text recognition research* [http://ieeexplore.ieee.org/xpl/freeabs_all.jsp?arnumber=291440] [24 April 2011].

[26] Z. Uhlíř, *Stvaranje ambijenta za virtuelno instraživanje istorijskich izvora*, "Savremena biblioteka" 22 (2010), 27, p. 24-29.

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the digital network environment. If we look at it in terms of the method and approach of codicological work, the personal space allows both strictly individual work and team work as well as various combinations of them. Through general access for all of the digital network environment, however, also the base for electronic network publication is created, which does not have to be necessarily dependent on employer or publisher institutions, or such relations will be resolved in a different way than up to now. At the Manuscriptorium source, operated by the National Library of the Czech Republic[27], a personal account of this type is already available, albeit for the moment only in a very rudimentary form[28] (and also the results of all of the previous stages, i.e. digitisation of the sources, aggregation of the resources, integration of the services, are naturally available there). The base of this personal space are the tools for creating virtual collections (collections comprised of manuscripts found in various physical collections) as well as virtual documents (documents comprised of pages/folios found in various original manuscripts). It is not much so far, but it is still a good base both for common heuristic work and for the possible creation of hyperlinks, and hence for the addition of annotations and notes for material and research works. It is likely to be also a suitable base for the future contextual editions, which will be mentioned below, but this requires that great technical efforts be exerted and the methodology of digital codicological work be expanded and verified.

Fifth, this opens an entirely new level of the virtualisation of knowledge[29]. Knowledge is the ability to treat and elaborate information, to complement it with metainformation[30], i.e. additional information, and on that basis to create transinformation[31], hence new information. At the same time, it is necessary to be aware that information is identical with data, that it is not a form of content but communicated particular which has an influence on a change in thought and subsequently also behaviour. Knowledge thus is not and cannot be only the representation of information, because in this regard there is nothing to represent generally, but it is the ability to work with information, to create metainformation and transformation and eventually also new knowledge *ad libitum ad infinitum.* Virtualisation[32] is a path of how to uncover implicit, not only explicit, features of the

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[27] See *Manuscriptorium: Building Virtual Research Environment for the Sphere of Historical Resources* [http://www.manuscriptorium.com]; [http://www.manuscriptorium.eu]; [http://www.manuscriptorium.cz].

[28] See *Manuscriptorium: My Library* [http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php].

[29] Z. Uhlíř, *Manuscriptorium a nové trendy v digitálním zpřístupnění písemného a dokumentárního dědictví*, "ITLib: Informačné technológie a knižnice" 14 (2010), 2, p. 11-16.

[30] See *Metainformace – Metainformation* [http://vydavatelstvi.vscht.cz/knihy/uid_es-005/hesla/metainformace.html] [24 April 2011].

[31] See Ladislav Tondl, *Mezi epistemologií a sémiotikou: Deset studií o vztazích poznání a porozumění významu*, Prague, 1996.

[32] Cf. Z. Uhlíř, *Historické dokumenty v hybridním elektronicko-digitálním prostředí*, in *Inforum 2001 – příspěvek na konferenci* [http://www.inforum.cz/archiv/inforum2001/prispevky/uhlir.htm] [24 April 2011]; Idem, *Digitalizace, elektronizice a virtualizace*, "Ikaros" 5 (2001), 2 [http://www.ikaros.cz/digitalizace-elektronizace-a-virtualizace] [24 April 2011].

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objects of the natural and artificial worlds[33]. It means that virtual reality is such a reality that is not evident at first sight and is difficult to capture with traditional analytical methods found between induction and deduction, being possible to capture only with the additional use of abduction, i.e. an approach that is beyond the set of the existing methodologies, methods and techniques used in the field concerned and that is adopted from another field or even is based on mere common sense. Under these circumstances, it is absolutely clear that the results achieved on the basis of induction, deduction and abduction must be judged by the path of falsification and not verification[34]. It seems to be obvious, but in the humanities disciplines it is true rather only for theoretical proclamations than for practical research operation and the *lex artis* arising from it. We thus come to a field which seems to be entirely new and specific for digital codicology as against traditional codicology; nevertheless, we must again draw attention to the fact that the first steps towards this were made by culturomics, which had emerged based on the massive digitisation of the later as well as earlier written and documentary heritage undertaken by Google[35]. On this so-far last stage, we come to the point of contention: the virtual world of digital codicology is enthusiastically accepted by some, because for them it means inspiration for the discovery of unknown worlds and for the revelation of unimagined possibilities, by others it is emphatically and at the same time anxiously refused, because it seems to them to be full of dangerous uncertainties, doubtful hopes and aberrant ideas. One can only say *hic Rhodus, hic salta.*

The second answer to the changes occurring are methodological innovations and gradual, complete transformation of the methodology of all of the humanities disciplines, at which we have progressively arrived with the description of the building of a scientific infrastructure for digital codicology, its brief analysis and some related considerations. Theoretical and methodological considerations are not well-thought of in the humanities disciplines in Central Europe, because they are usually detached from practical research work and particularly surpass the established scientific operation, namely both in institutional and personnel terms. Only rarely does it occur that innovation is instituted in silence in connection with specific research topics[36]. And at the same time it is not possible or even right any other way, because theoretical considerations are abstract and consequently disregard specific particulars, which are from this perspective entirely uninteresting and misleading, because their plurality and the complicacy of their relations make conceptualisation difficult. On the other hand, however, the devil hides precisely in

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[33] These terms are adopted from the theory and methodology of the natural sciences, cf. David Bohm, *Wholeness and the Implicit Order*, London-New York, 1995 [first edition, 1980].

[34] See Karl R. Popper, *Das Elend des Historizismus*, 3rd edition, Tübingen, 1971; Idem, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, 4th edition, London, 1968.

[35] Cf. *Culturomics* [http://www.culturomics.org/] [24 April 2011]. See also F. Horáček, *Google, digital humanities a technologie budoucnosti* [http://www.inflow.cz/google-digital-humanities-technologie-budoucnosti] [24 April 2011].

[36] Cf. e.g. Heinrich Fichtenau, *Arenga*, Graz, 1957 or Bernd Moeller, Karl Stackmann, *Städtische Predigt in der Frühzeit der Reformation: Eine Untersuchung deutscher Flugschriften der Jahre 1522 bis 1529*, Göttingen, 1996.

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the details, because whichever historical (and for that matter also philological) discipline is a specific, not universal, science, which cannot be built at all without component details. I hope, however, to be forgiven that just as my considerations on the building of the scientific infrastructure of digital codicology are based on the building of the aggregate resource of the Manuscriptorium, which has already been discussed several times, also the following considerations come from my practical, although not yet published, experience with the sermonic manuscripts by Milicius de Cremsir and from my effort to prepare a contextual edition of his *Quadragesimale*, and some other related manuscript texts. And last but not least, they build on my discussions both with my colleagues at my own workplace and in its close vicinity and in the wider global situation, particularly of course in Europe and North America. I consequently hope that in the following I will not proceed only from empty epistemological concepts but that I will react to what everyone can in one way or another have in his/her specific and practical research experience.

The first extensive area where the methodological transformation in the humanities disciplines is taking place is the advocacy of quantification. In a naïve view of scientific research, people sometimes believe that only the use of the mathematical methods makes a real science of any kind of human investigation[37]. Some are more moderate and are willing to claim that mathematicisation is significant only for disciplines dealing with the universal but not for those that deal with the specific[38]. Convincing argumentation has however appeared that the relation of mathematicisation with science is not applicable in those disciplines that are universal but deal with human conduct, such as praxeology[39] and economics[40]. The use of mathematics in the humanities disciplines (which essentially means the use of various statistical methods, because abstract modelling[41] did not prove itself at all) thus does not make them scientific: for disciplines dealing with human conduct, it is a substantial category of time, with *contingentia futurorum evenientium* naturally applying[42]. Despite that, however, quantification can be a significant methodological means of digital codicology, which strengthens its historical foundation and allows it to extricate itself from purely technical and essentially ahistorical descriptions. After all, in this case it is possible to proceed from the earlier idea of quantitative codicology[43], which began to appear in the 1970s and 1980s but was never more

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[37] The people active in the context of these ideas are e.g. Jerzy Topolski, *Metodologia historii*, Warsaw, 1973.

[38] Cf. e.g. Paul Veyne, *Comment on ecrit l'histoire*. Paris, 1996.

[39] See Tadeusz Kotarbiński, *Praxeologie*, Prague, 1972; Adam Knott, *A Praxeology of Coercion*, 2nd edition, 2006 [http://www.praxeology.com/downloads/PDF%202nd%20Ed.%20Final%20Draft.pdf [25 April 2011].

[40] See Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*, 3rd edition, Chicago, 1966; Peter Boettke, *Robustní politická ekonomie pro 21. století*, Prague, 2011.

[41] E.g. the creation of ideal types is completely different from abstract or mathematical modelling.

[42] It was already known by the mediaeval scholastic authors, cf. e.g. Z. Uhlíř, *Charles University: Its Scholars and Students in the Middle Ages and Their Work in the Context of Their Age*, Prague, 1998.

[43] Cf. Jiří Pražák, *K pojetí kodikologie*, "Studie o rukopisech", 19 (1980), p. 123-141; František Hoffmann, *Zásady popisu rukopisů z roku 1983 a zkušenosti z jejich užívání: Soupis rukopisů*

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significantly introduced. The use of statistics as applied mathematics has however only a purely auxiliary significance in this concept, because it is not based on the projection of trends into the future as is usual in other cases but on rendering the frequency of individual phenomena or rather facts in comparison with other individual phenomena or facts. What is important in this case is to understand that whereas a phenomenon is only something objectively existing and recordable, or simply recorded, a fact has a more complicated structure, because it is an interpretation of the relations of a phenomenon or phenomena. A fact is thus the meaning of the phenomenon in context. It is important to have in mind that the phenomena to which the humanities disciplines are devoted, i.e. fields that deal with various aspects of human conduct, already in and of themselves have meaning, so that the meaning of the phenomenon is actually the meaning of the meaning and as a consequence may not be exactly easy to capture. In the attempt for codicological quantification, the point is the endeavour to determine not the meanings but the frequency of their more or less hidden, so-called implicit contexts, namely not in a dynamic form (it would be suitable in prognostication into the future, which certainly is not an objective of digital codicology) but in the form of one or more static profiles (it is suitable for capturing changes in the past, or present, which is the primary objective of all historical fields, including also digital codicology). It is consequently nonsensical to count the letters on manuscript pages and conduct statistical comparisons of such determinations, because it cannot be ascribed any clear meaning or context. On the other hand, it indisputably makes sense to conduct a quantification and subsequent statistical evaluation of the occurrence of entries of texts of diverse kinds in manuscripts of various types, geographical circles and socio-cultural milieux, because it can be ascribed a clear meaning and context can be appended. Aggregated digital resources, making mediaeval and early modern manuscripts accessible and providing integrated services are a suitable base for the quantification of codicological study.

The second substantial change in comparison with the existing codicological methodology is the concept of mass phenomenon[44]. It entirely naturally arises from the effort for quantification of codicological material, which is related to the digitisation as well as to the related activities of the aggregation of resources and integration of services. Nevertheless, quantification, i.e. the quantifiability or quantifiedness, cannot be identified with mass phenomenon. What is essential for mass phenomenon is the reproducible appearance or reproducible observability of the whole class and not one of its exemplars, because mass phenomenon is a mass reality synchronous in a certain time interval, not a single reality multiply diachronically

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knihovny Kláštera premonstrátů v Teplé, in *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska 1998*, Brno, 1999, p. 118-126.

[44] As of yet, this concept has belonged rather only to the area of general history and not to specialised fields, including also codicology, cf. e.g. Mark Harrison, *Crowds and History: Mass Phenomena in English Towns, 1790–1835*, Cambridge, 1988. Nevertheless, sociology dealt with it much earlier, cf. the classic work by Tomáš G.Masaryk, *Sebevražda hromadným jevem společenským moderní osvěty*, 5th edition, Prague, 2002 or František Weyr, *Nadprůměrná inteligence jako hromadný zjev: statistika vynikajících lidí*, Prague, 1927.

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observed and recorded. Mass phenomenon is consequently an abstract entity, not specific, based on an interpretation of a certain social feature or parameter of an entire range of individual specific entities, but it does not mean that mass phenomenon as an abstract entity is simultaneously a universal entity. Without further determination, it cannot even be said that it would be a specific entity, although it is closest to this level. In addition, it is necessary to take into consideration two more factors. First, individual phenomenon – *eventus*, a specific event, if I am to speak like a historian – as a component of a mass phenomenon together does not show connection with it in the sense that in knowledge of a mass phenomenon it would be possible to predict the state of an individual phenomenon or even its existence, although people make this mistake frequently. It is thus not possible on that basis to express oneself on a specific future. It would seem that for history this warning has no sense, but it is not so: the subject of historical – thus also codicological – interpretations is both the time flow and the fundamental unknown (not only the eliminable unknown) of some data which are indispensible and necessary for understanding historical events. This triggers an urgent need (based on the desire for the certainty of knowing) to complement these unknown data credibly. While the projection of the individual phenomena on the basis of a mass phenomenon is tempting here, it is only a deception, because considering the nature of the things it is methodologically impermissible. Despite that, however, it often happens, because the desire of people to determine things more precisely than is at all possible is ineradicable. And second, considering its contextual reference, the individual phenomenon itself has a relative character, i.e. in two different perspectives (when resolving various topics) it is always something else. It is shown clearly in works of literature, which stand more or less reflected at the bases of codicological study[45]. In the manuscripts, the work does not appear as such but exclusively in the records of its version, or its versions, whose levels can be categorised in various ways [46]. Under certain circumstances, the individual phenomenon is a record of the text, whereas under others it is the text itself, but it is evident that the record is an exemplar of a class which is determined by the text concerned. The exemplar and class on the one hand and the individual and mass phenomena on the other hand are thus not homogenous and correlative; they are not interchangeable. The use of the concept of mass phenomenon in digital codicology requires research fantasy and institution, which must first be developed.

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[45] Cf. Richard Sharp, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts: An Evidence-Based Approach*. Turnhout, 2003.

[46] See e.g. *Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records: Final Report*, Munich, 1998; Robert R. Maxwell, *FRBR: A Guide for the Perplexed*, Chicago, 2007; Arlene G. Taylor, *Understanding FRBR*, Westport, Conn., 2007; Carlo Chilli, Mauro Guerrini, *Introduzione a FRBR*. Milan, 2001; Patrick Le Boeuf, *Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records (FRBR): hype or cure-all?*, Binghampton, NY, 2005; Barbara B.Tillett, *What is FRBR?: A Conceptual Model for the Bibliographic Universe*, Washington, 2004.

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And finally the third – and in the case of digital codicology most likely the most important – is the idea of fluid text[47]. Fluid text is a very controversial concept, which completely contravenes the existing conceptualisations of the humanities disciplines. The text in semiotic delimitation is a set of features with a meaning and associated on the basis of syntactic rules. In this way, the text can be anything, perhaps even a culture in the sociological sense or a manuscript in the context of its external and internal features. This could be close to social and cultural anthropologists, less however to historians or philologists. I will then speak here of fluid text as of a text in the common sense, i.e. as a record of a language expression with letters. Nevertheless, not even here can we avoid certain collisions and misunderstandings, namely because historians and philologists see something else in such a text: whereas for historians the text is merely a direct or indirect trace of an external reality, which is given by human activity and its material and ideal results, for philologists the text is a part of an external reality itself (and for some it even replaces this external reality). The text and as a consequence of this also the work, the artefact, therefore have a different position in the structure of the world as understood on the one hand by historians and on the other by philologists. This can sometimes lead to misunderstandings; nevertheless – if we are sufficiently aware of it – it will not lead to substantial problems. Positivist and structuralist codicologists of earlier generations might have felt the need sometimes to define themselves against 'philologists' (as still earlier some historians needed to define themselves against 'sociologists'), but this arose more than from anything else from their unsteady awareness of the definition of their own field, so it does not have to be taken into account here. A serious problem, however, remains that the concept of fluid text usually surpasses the imagination of philologists, that they cannot classify it in their world and consequently more or less emphatically reject it. Whereas the imagination of the philologists proceeds along the paths of a fixedly given text and its history, on the one hand speaking of the archetype, Urtext, the best text and on the other hand of stemmas and filiations, fluid text on the contrary denies the fixed givenness of the text as already arises from the term itself. What however does a text in a flowing or fluid state mean when it is surely clear that someone had to create it and created it precisely in this way and not in another way? This means two things: the first is the methodological approach, which arises from the fact that a number of the records of the texts have not been preserved, which concerns particularly sermonic, university and didactic paraliterature, and hence in a number of cases it is impossible to find any fixedly given text, which would be a clear starting point for the further history of the text; the second is a conceptualisation of mediaeval paraliterature, which lacked a sufficiently clear and strong awareness of authorship and originality[48] and where the individual works were much less different from one another than in the case of so-called high literature and than we are accustomed today. And since particularly

[47] See John Bryant, *The Fluid Text: Theory of a Revision and Editing for Book and Screen*, Ann Arbor, 2002. For the wider context, cf. Walter J. Ong: *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, London, 1982.
[48] Cf. Antonín Škarka, *Literatura bez autorů a bez generací*, in Idem, *Půl tisíciletí českého písemnictví*, Prague, 1986, p. 7-12 (originally, 1948).

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historians work rather with this paraliterature, the concept of fluid text has begun to be close to them, because it places the more fluidly given text among the other paraliterary expressions while seeing in this context not only the text itself but already its individual records, so it is possible to consider that the individual manuscript record is a component state of the fluid text, which spreads not only to all preserved but also to all of the formerly created but no longer preserved records and texts. In the traditional printed environment, such an idea was conceivable only purely abstractly and potentially, without any possibility to be realised. In a digital network environment, which can be characterised as infinity closed in borders, it is on the other hand possible to realise, albeit not in the absolute sense. Digital codicology, focusing on the internal features, thus surpasses the possibilities of traditional codicology.

A thorough attempt for the provision of so-called contextual editions thus arises from all that above [49]. A contextual edition is focused on the representation of the text and its record in connections with other texts and records. Already this basic starting point predetermines that the text does not necessarily have to be understood as fixedly given, but that it is characterised by a quite significant level of variability. This must be reflected also in the contextual edition[50]. It is not a critical edition, since it does not attempt to restore the text in its archetype, Urtext, best text or simply canonical text. Neither does it attempt to conduct textological research within the work on the edition. The aim is to provide a reliable text, i.e. the text with regard to the record. It can consequently be said that the base of the contextual edition is a so-called pragmatic edition, whose ambitions are predominantly those aimed at the reader. It does not, however, mean that this type of edition would be entirely without ambitions, but its ambitions are of another sort. They arise from the so-called testimonies of the traditional printed editions, i.e. references to the overt or covert citations or to the mere allusions, and try to develop them further. A contextual edition consequently concentrates predominantly on the intertextual relations and on their clear expressions. This creates the assumption that it will subsequently be a prerequisite for continuing also to transtextual relations. This is somewhat analogous to what was already mentioned above: intertextual relations are manifested on the level of individual phenomenon, whereas transtextual relations are shown on the level of mass phenomenon. When projecting such prospective concepts, it is however necessary to make sure that they not end in complete abstraction and thus also in unrealisability. It can be hoped that it truly is not the case here. Already now, there is a realistic possibility to show intertextual relations not only through mere references

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[49] For the wider context, cf. Elena Pierazzo, Malte Rehbein, *Putting Texts back into Context: Documentary Transcriptions, Genetic Encoding, Codicology and Paleography. DARIAH and CLARINS*, joint conference, Vienna, 19-20 October 2010, see [http://ztwweb.trans.univie.ac.at/sdh2010/] [25 April 2011].

[50] On the new concepts of editorial work, cf. Peter L. Shillingsburg, *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age: Theory and Practice*, 3rd edition, Ann Arbor, 1996; Raimonda Modiano, Leroy F. Searle, Peter L. Shillingsburg, *Voice, Text, Hypertext: Emerging Practices in Textual Studies*. Seattle, Wash., 2004; P. L. Shillingsburg, *From Gutenberg to Google: Electronic Representations of Literary Texts*, Cambridge, 2006.

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but directly through the representation of the text concerned or its relevant part. It is possible in practice through the methodological usage of the common technology of hypertext[51]. And since also the requirement of persistent addresses and persistent identifiers is already being practically fulfilled, it is possible to ascribe contextual editions with long-term utility, which was still not possible recently. Two basic presumptions have thus been fulfilled for contextual editions, without which they could not be implemented no matter how complexly they would be considered in theory: personalised environment is being intensively developed within the uniform digital environment and persistent addresses and persistent identifiers are being implemented. The fundamental step from a linear text to the dominant implementation of hypertext also in the case of scientific editions of historical fulltexts is consequently quite well possible already now.

What is particularly important here is an understanding of hypertextuality, manifesting itself in text stratification, which is principally infinitely manifold, as such however uncapturable, and so must be schematised into several essentially standardised layers[52]. It seems that a division into four layers is sensible; these are firstly the collection, i.e. the set of individual texts, be it fixed or only written down once, secondly the text, i.e. the component, relatively closed and relatively independent intellectual unit which can be transcribed even regardless of the collection in which it usually or by chance is found, thirdly the microtext, i.e. the component unit which besides complete exceptions does not appear independently, it is thus always a part of some text, but considering the text of which it is a part it is at the same time promiscuous, i.e. it appears in various such texts, and finally fourthly the motif, which more or lass freely travels between texts, or microtexts. Up to here, everything has seemed to be completely clear and nothing has aroused significant doubts or marked misunderstanding, but as soon as we progress to the question of how to implement all of this practically, we discover that some ambiguities appear after all. The question is how to implement and represent those four layers, i.e. collection, text, microtext and motif. It is clear that it will be through the stratification of the individual levels of hypertext. What is less clear is whether the layers of hypertext should reflect in some way also the hierarchy of the levels of the contextual edition or not; it is a question. I do not think so, because a hierarchical system of organisation is very much inconsistent with hypertext. Hypertext is a kind of reified replica of human thought. And thought is a manifestation of the spirit, where *spiritus, ubi vult, flat*[53] applies. That is as far as the general view of the thing

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[51] See Z. Uhlíř, *Hypertext a otazniky nad jeho metodologií*, "Ikaros" 4 (2000), 1 [http://www.ikaros.cz/hypertext-otazniky-nad-jeho-metodologii] [25 April 2011].

[52] See Tomás O'Sullivan, *Defining and Editing the Shifting Shapes of Sermons*. Texts Worth Editing. The Seventh International Conference of the European Society for Textual Scholarship. Pisa, 26 November 2010 [http://67.23.4.192/Pisa_Presentation.wmv] [25 April 2011], which speaks of 'layer-edition'.

[53] Cf. John 3:8: *Spiritus ubi vult spirat, et vocem eius audis, sed nescis unde veniat, aut quo vadat: sic est omnis qui natus est ex spiritu* [The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit (KJV).].

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is concerned, but there are also at least two specific and practical objections against any attempt at a hierarchical representation of hypertext here. The first of them lies in that it is hardly feasible for purely technical reasons. It would mean preparing for the contextual edition some kind of static matrix, which would undoubtedly become its Procrustean bed: on the one hand it would have too much, on the other hand too little flexibility to resolve unanticipated relations. Moreover, it can be assumed that the end user of the contextual edition will be intelligent enough to handle easily the interpretation of the level of the context. Furthermore, there is still the second thing, which is much more serious, because what is a text in this conception of the contextual edition is not decided by the editor but by the reader. And it means that a contextual edition can in no case be considered as a closed work, because the boundaries between the authors of the edited texts, the editor and the reader become less clear and in the case of the editor and the reader can even disappear. And so it can be supposed that the contextual edition will head towards becoming a collective work: individual readers based on their knowledge of manuscript material will be able to contribute by revealing a new aspect, and thus also a new interpretation. Like we have seen in the case of descriptive records on manuscripts that the network digital environment allows and even prefers teamwork, also in the case of the contextual edition we are discovering that the cooperative method of editing historical texts has the tendency to predominate in the future. In that, it will be important for various reasons to label properly the component contributions of individual persons.

That is connected with a very substantial transformation of the view of authorship, which concerns both the authorship of the original historical texts and all of the outputs in the network digital environment. The question of today's authors can be left out at this point, because it is a question not so much of a simple historical observation of things without the possibility to change them, but on the contrary it is a question of where there are quite real opportunities for that. Those, however, do not concern digital codicology; neither are they therefore connected to my topic. In terms of the historical authors[54], when creating contextual editions it is possible to cherish the hope that the names of authors and the titles of their works will really be evidence-based, i.e. based on the source material, and that they will not proceed from various handbooks and *repertoria*, whose data are often only very mediated. However, in this context this is not the most important, because the changed view of authorship does not affect specific personal names but the very idea of authorship, or its construct. Today, we understand the construct of authorship as nothing other than individual authorship as this construct has developed in the period of modernity. We even understand anonyms and pseudonyms this way; we only allow other formal expressions (of unknown name – fictitious name), but this approach cannot be applied to the Middle Ages. Even then, there certainly existed *auctores*, but they were also *auctoritates*; they had to be authorities or they did not have the right to be

[54] Cf. Z. Uhlíř, *Příprava dat pro digitalizaci rukopisů, její význam a souvislosti*, "Národní knihovna: Knihovnická revue" 10 (1999), 3, p. 117-129 [http://digit.nkp.cz/CzechArticles/Pripravadat.html] [19 April 2011]; R. Sharp, *Titulus* cit., Turnhout, 2003.

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called authors. To put it another way, a number of people who actually wrote were in fact not authors and thus cannot be considered as anonyms, at least in today's sense of the word. A number of other people hid under the names of famous authorities. And a number of other people revised the works of famous authors to such an extent that they actually created new works while however leaving the name of the original author. If we attempt to transform this polymorphous situation into some kind of ideal type, it will have four components. First, individual authorship as we know it today. It is precisely here that it should be truly evidence-based. Second, intentional authorship, which marks the authors of such works that were so revised and redacted that they could be considered either as individual author's works by someone else but which circulate under the name of the original author, i.e. the author of the original and basic intention, or as the work of someone different from the original author but included without distinction in the original collection circulating under the name of the original author. This type is very diverse; in our view it includes real authors as well as mere editors or even mere transcribers. Third, there is pseudo-authorship, which is characteristic in that the name of an authoritative person covers a work written by someone else. The point even here is that the possible determination of those hidden authors be in reality evidence-based. And finally, fourth, there is non-authorship, which cannot be identified with anonymous authorship. Today, we simply automatically consider someone as the author if he/she writes something, which we apply also to the past periods. This for example entails that to ask about the author of the Chronicle of the So-Called Dalimil, which is a popular sport among Czech historians, has absolutely no sense, because it is a chronicle without an author, whose Czech, Latin and German mutations freely blend together although they were created at different times, albeit all in the Middle Ages[55]. Digital codicology and contextual editology certainly contribute to the resolution of even these cans of worms.

The basic concepts of general codicological imagination, which are, albeit not usually entirely reflected, manuscript, text and work, must consequently be evaluated otherwise than before. We can already no longer perceive them as completed and closed, hence we cannot perceive them as artefacts in the normal sense. Naturally, we will continue to see them as artefacts in the technological sense, i.e. the results of human conduct, artificial objects, but we would not help ourselves much with that, because an artefact in this technological definition is almost everything in the human world. I will leave aside at this point what we should consider them as, because I do not yet have – and I think that neither does anyone else have for the moment – a clear enough idea on it. Digital codicology and contextual editology thus lead us much farther than we expected at the beginning. We must see their prospects precisely in that.

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[55] Cf. Z. Uhlíř, *Nově objevený zlomek latinského překladu Kroniky tak řečeného Dalimila*, "Knihovna: Knihovnická revue" 16 (2005), 2, p. 137-169; *Die tutsch kronik von Behem lant: Die gereimte deusche Übersetzung der alttschechischen Dalimil-Chronik / Rýmovaný německý překlad staročeské Dalimilovy kroniky* (ed. by Vlastimil Brom), Brno, 2009.

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Overview of Business Archives in Spain

José Andrés González Pedraza

Keywords: *business archives*; *Spain*; *legislation*; *associations*

Introduction

The "Business Archives" term is very recent in Spain. The Archives like sets of documents always have existed in the companies to bring together the minutes books and the most important financial and juridical documents but the Archives as centers of management and arrangement of records, attended by professionals archivists, only exist from the 80s.

In Spain, exist evidences and documents of different commercial and financial initiatives from the Middle Ages. For example, accounting documents of the livestocks great association that was the Mesta (1273-1836) remain in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid). The Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid preserves documents of the great family empire of the Castilian banker Simón Ruiz, with delegations in the whole Europe from the 16th century. Other industrial initiatives were very abundant in the 18th century, with the creation of the Royal Factories as manufacturing centers and the commercial companies in America. The Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla) has many records series relating to Tobaccos's Royal Factory from the 17th century. These are precedents of the companies as today we conceive them, a profit making organisation that combines technical, financial and human means in a sector of activity.

The modern company is a daughter of the Industrial Revolution who crosses Europe in the 19th century. In Spain, the legislation is on the side of the creation of numerous companies always dependent on the foreign English, French or Belgian capitals. By way of illustration, the Trade Code (1825), the Societies for Shares' Law (1848); the Banks laws (1849, 1851 and 1856); the General Law of Railroads (1855); the Credit Societies' Law (1856); the Societies for Shares' Law (1869), the laws relating to mining industry (1825, 1849, 1859 and 1868). Most of these companies, founded in the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, are unknown to us, because the records have disappeared, disinterest or destruction victims. In the 19th century is produced in Spain, as E. García de Enterría afirmed "a frightening depredation of our patrimony".

The First Congress on Economic and Privates Companies' Archives celebrated in the Banco de España under Teresa Tortella's direction in June 1982, coinciding with the opening of the Bank Historical Archive to the research and the Second Congress celebrated in 1986, they both are the first serious attempts of realizing a diagnosis about the Business Archives in Spain. Most the participants

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were historians who emphasized the historical importance of the records in bank, commercial and industrial sectors. They concluded the state of dispersion in which they trouved the documents and the absence of findings aids and professional archivists.

From the 80s, numerous Business Archives have been created in Spain. Almost all of them, to recover the memory of the companies, not for the records management. Recently, in 2008, inside the VIII Congress of the Archivists' National Association (ANABAD) they met in Madrid 16 business archivists, who emphasized the concept of the Archive as historical heritage custody's places and, simultaneously, as centers of application of new technologies. Precisely, in this Congress was presented the first Group of Work on Business Archives of the Autonomous Government of Madrid.

This one is the great change produced in 25 years. The reasons are different:

1. Today the companies are opened to the society and have discovered the profitability of the cultural initiatives, included the creation of Archives.

2. The economic history has discovered the company as one of her objects and the researchers have demanded arranged Archives. It is not possible to do business history without business archives.

3. To recover our memory is one of the characteristics of the postmodern world and it exists a increasing sensibility in the society towards it.

Increasingly, business archivists take part in congresses to announce the programs of description and diffusion of their Archives and the bibliography and the web pages in Internet are growing. However, there are also problems and serious faults. A national policy does not exist, not regionally, on Business Archives and the care of the companies towards their documents is very unequal: there are companies that have important Archives and there are companies with a total abandon of their records.

Today in Spain, the Archives are in the center of the public debate about the historical memory and the right of access to the information. Professionals archivists are employing a Spanish Norm as adjustment of the ISAD (G) norm, and they are debating about the normalization, the identification and valuation of records series and the new electronic files that wait for us. They are also new worries and challenges for the business archivists.

Legislation Affecting Business Records

National

In Spain there is not a national law for Business Archives. Neither a norm that forces to the private firms to create and support Archives for the arrangement and diffusion of the records. The Spanish National Heritage Law (16/1985) and the Royal Decree 111/86 that develops it they are the in force legislation. The wide concept of historical heritage includes the Archives and their records and the article

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49 includes in the Spanish Heritage the documents with a age more than 100 years, brought together by private entities but without expresse mention to the companies.

The business archivists must know also an extensive national regulation on different aspects that they can be given in the business management and that they concern the creation and conservation of the records. For example, the trade legislation, the labour and health services laws, the environmental legislation, the legislation on safety, the legislation on medical services, the legislation on machinery, the tax laws. In addition, every public or private sectors (mining industry, banking, transport, chemistry) they includes their own procedures on their records.

The legal fundamental procedure that concern all the business entities are dispersed in diverse texts as the Trade Code of 1885, the Royal Decree 1564/1989 of December 22, 1989 which approves the Summarized Text of the Public Limited Companies, the Law 2/1995 of March 23, 1995 of Limited Companies, and other procedure as the Civil Code of 1889 and the Royal Decree 1784/96 of July 19, 1996 that approves the Regulation of the Trade Registry.

From their codification in the Trade Code of 1885, the companies acts has supported the same types of firms as for their legal nature, among which we emphasize two, which are the majority that exists in the Spanish panoram:

1. Public Limited Companies (Corporation, Joint –stock companies). The Summarized text of the Law that regulates these societies is of December 22, 1989. In this law there are established the characteristics and functioning of the General Shareholders Meeting and Board of Directors and the transformations of a company (merger, split, dissolution, liquidation etc.)

2. Limited liability Companies (LTD). The Law of March 23, 1995 regulates the LTD and their functioning, in the same way as the Law of Joint-stock companies.

The records that must be created and preserved in a firm are enumerated in the Trade Code (Royal Decree of August 22, 1885). The article 26, the need to take a Corporate Minute Book for all the collegiates governments bodies of the firm, with expression of the information relative to the summons and to the constitution of the organ, a summary of the debated matters, the adopted agreements and the results of the votings. This obligatory information turns out to be more extended in the Trade Registry Norm (Royal Decree 1784/1996 of July 19) in his article 97, where it specifies all the circumstances that the content of the minute must include. The article 34 establishes the obligation of the businessman to realize the set of financial statements (Balance Sheet, Income Statement and Funds Statement). The articles 33 to 43 of the Code of Trade of 1885 prescribe the obliged creation and conservation of the following accounting books: General Ledger, Current Ledger, Balance and Inventory.

From the Trade Code of 1885 new procedures have formed in Spain a legislative corpus in countable matter that has influenced the records series in the companies. The General Ledger today is not obligatory. In 2007 has been approved the last General Chart of Accounts that substitutes the previous ones of 1973 and 1990. The General Chart Accounting explains through categories all the countable concepts that are given in a company.

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The business archivists must know that the tax Spanish legislation always paid attention to the invoice as an accountig document that the businessman must preserve to safeguard his rights, for checkings and fiscal inspections. Actually, the process towards the electronic invoice is unstoppable. In Spain the concept has been introduced through the European Union's norms. The Royal Decree 1496/2003 of November 28, 2003 regulates the obligations of invoicing and establishes an obligatory conservation term of four years. Also it recognizes the possibility of sending the invoices in paper or in electronic support, that is, a tax document generated by computer means and in electronic format that replaces to the invoice in paper preserving the same legal value. According to the General Tax Law of 2003 the obligations end four years for the Treasury and for the individuals and business. Several Ministerial Decrees of the year 2007 have developed the procedures to implement an electronic invoicing and the conservation terms, in agreement with a few standards defined by the Treasury. The electronic invoice will be obligatory for the contracting with the civil service from beginning of the year 2009.

There are procedures about labor and security social records that concern the Business Archives. In Spain, the National Health Service started-up in 1963 (Law 193/63 of December 28, 1963 of Bases of the National Health Service), developed by the Decree 907/1966 of April 21, 1966 and with successive texts in 1974 and 1994 (this is at present the valid norm). The Workers Statute Act of 1980 regulates the labour activities and the norm that develops it was approved in 1995, regulating the characteristics and content of the labour contracts and the collective agreements, among other documents, as well as the classes of workers representation bodies inside the company.

The insurances that pay the companies to the civil service have monthly periodical and from 1981 are in force the models TC1 (the global amounts of the full services) and TC2 (the list of all the workers). At present, the system RED of the National Health Service allows the exchange of information and documents in electronic format through Internet among the National Health Service and the firms. From 2004, all the discharges and sicks leaves have to be submited in electronic form obligatorily, preserving the companies the hard copy for four years.

Another general law that concerns the firms with medical services is the Law 41/2002 of November 14, 2002 on information and medical records that establishes, also for the private centers, the obligation to preserve the clinical records in good conditions for guarantee their maintenance and safety.

Regional

Seventeen Autonomous Governments of Spanish State have assumed responsabilities in Archives and regional heritage. Business Archives, it is understood, that are included in the general paragraph dedicated to the Private Archives most of laws published. The Archive's owners have to preserve them but the acts do not offer more explanations about their arrangement and description. Every Autonomous Government has designed his own Archives System in which the private archives can join by an agreement. So, they can use the system economic and material resources but also they have to follow the technical procedures as all the

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System's Archives. The last Act published is the Extremadura Archives Law in 2007. In every Autonomous Governments the age the documents must have to be considered a regional heritage is different.

National Policies for Business Archives

Spain does not have a specific national policy for Business Archives. The Subdirectorate General of State Archives is responsable for all operations envolving the custody, preservation and dissemination of the documentary heritage of Spain- buildings, projects, technical support- It provides direction, supervision and advice to the State Archives, as well as coordination and cooperation with Autonomous Governments, professional training and international archival cooperation. It does not evolve any specific policy destined for Business Archives. Anyway, they can benefit from the three public projects. http://www.mcu.es/archivos/index.html.

First, from 1999, economic aids aimed at non-profit making entities private Archives to develop projects as finding aids printed edition or hardware or software purchase. A Foundation is a non-profit organisation and there are several Business Archives inside the Foundation as The Hullera Vasco-Leonesa Archive, The Minas de Almadén Archive or The Riotinto Archive, for example.

Secondly, the Electronic Guide to Spanish and Latin American Archive, where public and private Archives can include the information about their documents, addresses and services that put at disposal of researchers.

Thirdly, the Spanish Archives Digital Portal (PARES Project) is, from 2006, one of most important european Archives projects. It contains descriptions normalized of the records groups in different levels of arrangement and their images. The information is accessible across the net for any interested citizen. In the future a constant growth is planed, admitting also descriptions and images of private Archives records, which will have to sign an agreement before.

The Historical Spanish Patrimony Institute (Instituto del Patrimonio Histórico Español IPHE) dependent on the Department of Culture (Ministerio de Cultura) develops from 2000 a Industrial Heritage Project in order to preserve, mainly, buildings and industrial remains. The program involves the safe-keeping of Business Archives too, but so far there have been no projects in this field.

Autonomous governments have not showed, generally, any interest for the cooperation, assistance and arrangement their Business Archives (except for a specific case) and do not promote specific policies. The exception is Cataluña, where the National Archive has developed, from beginnings, a activate policy for recover endangered Business Archives. This policy has produced positive results to restore the business heritage in graphic, textile or metallurgical sectors. Nowadays, it preserves records about one hundred firms from the 18th century.

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Relationships between Archives and Records Management

Traditionally, the Spanish archivists have been in charge of the documents in the moment that they go out of the offices. The records management is not common practice. The big Business Archives have been created to know and spread business historical heritage and not to promote a records management system. Is not possible, of course, when the companies are dissapeared and the companies still carrying do not have Archives that develop a records management policy, from the offices up to the Archive. These functions are usually separated and the archivist does not take part in the moment of records creation. It is still lacking a definition of primary and secondary values for series Business Archives. There exist Archives (Hullera Vasco-Leonesa, Banco de España, Minas de Almadén) wich take part in the business management sharing common databases and receiving records series transfered from the offices.

Business Archives

Spanish Business Archives have two characteristics according to the economical sectors:

1. The importance of the banks Archives, coinciding with what it happens in other European's countries where most banks Archives have been arranged.

2. The importance of the mining companies Archives. The European mining industry has been a crucial sector to the European history and in the Spanish economic advance too, for the formation of capitals, infrastructures and markets.

Public Archives

Spain does not have the Business Public Archives assembled in a public Archive. They are distributed by different public Archives in the whole country.

There are comprised in this paragraph the Archives supported by the own public companies and the public or private Archives maintained and preserved in public Archives between other records groups.

Spain had a very important public industrial division from 1940 to 1981 approximately, dependent on the Instituto Nacional de Industria (INI). Most of the companies (Ensidesa, Endesa, Repsol, Iberia, Seat, Hunosa) have been privatized. Other regional and local Archives, especially the Cataluña National Archive, have gathered business records that existed in its geographical area.

1. Public Companies with their own Archives:

1.1. Archivo del Banco de España (Bank of Spain Archive, Madrid): opened to the researchers from 1982. It contains more than 40 kilometres of records related to the Spanish bank activities from 1782. It is the main Spanish Bank Archives and one of the most important in the whole country. It is a charter member of the

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Association for the Bank European History and has edited pioneering monographs for the study of the Business Archives in Spain. The Archive is a bank's service inside the organization chart. Lately, has finished the digital images's archive of 83 Banco de San Carlos's Books Minutes (1782-1829) and the bill's collection http://www.bde.es/servicio/historic/histori.htm

1.2. Archivo del Instituto Nacional de Industria-SEPI (INI-SEPI's Archive, Madrid): it has the public state Spanish division records, from the INI' s institution in 1941. The Archive is essential for the knowledge of the state public companies. http://archivo.sepi.es

1.3. Archivos de Autoridades Portuarias (Port Authorities' Archives, Tarragona, Huelva and Santander, for example): the Port Authorities work as companies for the Spanish ports management.

1.4. Archivo del Canal de Isabel II (Elisabeth Channel' s Archive, Madrid): The Channel is a public company dedicated to the management and supply of the water in Madrid from 1851.

1.5. Archivo de Mercamadrid (Mercamadrid's Archive, Madrid): it is a corporation dependent on the Madrid City Hall that assembles the principal Madrid's companies food from 1982 .Mercamadrid is the biggest Spain's wholesale food market.

1.6. Archivo de Hunosa (Hulleras del Norte S.A.) (Hunosa's Archive, Asturias): Hunosa is a coal mining industry that was founded in 1967 to integrate inside the public state coal mining to the private coal mining companies in Asturias. The Archive was created in 1996 by the own company and holds substancials business records from XIXth century.

2. Public or private Business Archives inside public Archives

2.1. Archivo Histórico de Sabadell (Barcelona): local and regional Archive with more than fifty records groups, especially related to the textile sector. http://www.sabadell.cat/websajsab/arxiu/

2.2. Archivo Histórico Ferroviario (Historical Railway Archive, Madrid): included inside the Spanish Railroads' Foundation, which belongs to the public state sector. It contains records series of 8 private railway's from the XIXth and has started a very important spreading in Internet (Digital Portal of Railway´s Archive (Docutren) and the printed edition of the "Cuadernos del Archivo Histórico Ferroviario" (Notebooks of the Historical Railway Archive). http://www.ffe.es/documentacion/archivo.htm

2.3. Archivo Nacional de Cataluña (Cataluña National Archive, Barcelona): its firms reflects all aspects of the industry in Cataluña with more than 100 companies (La España Industrial S.A., La Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima S.A., la Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas S.A. for example).

2.4. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid: provincial Archive, has arranged the set of documents of Simón Ruiz's Company from the 16th century. Its 56,000 letters form a exceptional archive in Europe.

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2.5. Archivo de la Fundación Arquitectura (Architecture Foundation' s Archive, Madrid): it contains the Metrovacesa's Archive, first Spanish estate firm, founded in 1989.

2.6. Archivo Histórico del Ejército del Aire (Air Force's Historical Archive, Madrid): it has the records of Construcciones Aeronaúticas S.A. (CASA) an aeroespace company, created in 1923.

2.7. Archivo General de la Administración (General Central Government Archive, Madrid): this is one of most important Spanish's Archives. It includes the records of several corporations (Compañía Española de Petróleos S.A. (CEPSA), Empresa Nacional de Petróleos (ENPETROL), Banco de Crédito Local y Empresa Nacional Calvo Sotelo (ENCASO).

2.8. Archivo Municipal de Gijón (Asturias): The Archive is located the Gijón City Hall and promote a local industrial heritage recovery program from 1989. Astilleros del Cantábrico S.A (shipyard industry) is one of the records groups retrieved.

2.9. Ministerio de Economía: Ruiz Mateos S.A. (Rumasa's Archive, Madrid).

Corporate Archives

The historical heritage recovery has been the main reason why a particular corporation have chosen to keep an Archive. That usually happens preparing for a significant anniversary or a exhibition. Since that day, the firm perceive the internal uses for the Archive. Spanish's Private Business Archives are a wide range of centers, as for the resources which they have and their size. The Archives are managed on different ways. Some companies have created the Archive as a business unit and other firms have included it in a Foundation wich collects all the business' cultural activities, or in a Documentation Center, together with the corporate library. The disinterest on the part of the businessmen about the Archive's importance in a company is a serious problem. It is still necessary to persuade them about the value of their Archives as a global view in the company policy, instead of a view of the Archive as a private initiative for recover wonderful documents.

1. Archivo de Hullera Vasco-Leonesa (Hullera Vasco-Leonesa's Archive, León): Hullera Vasco-Leonesa was founded in 1893 for coal mining in León and in 1989 has created the Archive wich preserves the records heritage of more than 20 different firms. The Archive is included in a Foundation together a very significant corporate library (more than 8.000 books) and newspaper library. The Archive is contributing to the business management from the day by day touch with the offices, for solving their problems and queries. It contain very important records groups relating to the Spanish's coal mining from 1844. In 2001 the Hullera Vasco-Leonesa's Foundation has edited the Archive's Guide, the first extensive guide (220 pages) of a Spanish Business Archive, with the collaboration of the Subdirección General de Archivos del Ministerio de Cultura (Subdirectorate General of Archives of the Department of Culture). The Archive has finished in 2007 the digital images's

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archive of two records series from the XIXth century: personnal files and concessions mining alltogether 20,000 images in jpg format. The Archive takes part in different Archive's national meetings and has written different texts on Business Archives. http://www.fhvl.es.

2. Archivo de Iberdrola (Iberdrola's Archive, Cáceres): Iberdrola has created the Archive in 1997 to arrange, preserve and spread the records of more than 250 companies of the electrical Spanish sector in the XIXth and XXth century. The Archive has recovered records in different places of the company in the whole Spain and has concentrated in Alcántara (Caceres) and Ricobayo (Zamora), the most important Spanish's Archives for the study of the electrical sector.

3. Archivo Histórico Minero de la Fundacion Riotinto (Riotinto's Foundation Historical Mining Archive, Huelva): Rio Tinto Company was founded in London in 1873 and in 1912 produced in Huelva (Spain) 44% of world's pyrites. The Archive began to organize in 1990 and actually attracts national and international researchers. The tourism and entrance to the old mine are the main sources of income in the area.

4. Archivo Histórico de Minas de Almadén (Almaden's Mining Historical Archives, Ciudad Real): it opened in 2004 with more than 2 kilometres of documents related to the most important world's mining mercury. The Archive is dependent on Almaden' s Mining Foundation.

5. Archivo del Banco Bilbao-Vizcaya-Argentaria (Bank of Bilbao-Vizcaya-Argentaria's Archive, Bilbao): This bank was the first Spanish firm that began the arrangement of their historical documents in 1977. The Historical Archive includes all the records of banks and industries that come together in the current BBVA. It has developed very important serial publications as records inventories and Notebooks' Archive.

6. Archivo de Caja España (León): Caja España was created in 1990 as result of the 5 regional banks's merger. It brings together the records of the set of banks that gave place to Caja España as a memory of the Castilla y León bank's history from the 19th century.

7. Archivo de la Confederación Hidrográfica del Duero (Dueros's Hydrographic Confederation Archive, Valladolid): Duero is one of biggest Spain's river. The Confederation is an autonomous corporation with business characteristics. It is necessary to emphasize the Castilla Channel's records, the major work of the Spanish engineering in the 18th century.

8. Archivo de Gas Natural (Town Gas' Archive, Barcelona): The Archive was created in 1987 with Group Town Gas' records, in addition to the previous business, over 20 records groups from middle of the 19th century.

Business Archives Associations

In Spain there is not a national Business Archivists' Association. There is a Economical and Business' Working Group within Madrid Government Archivists'

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Association, that was presented in 2008 within the framework of the Archivists' National Association Congress.

In many Spain's regions there have appeared associations for the industrial patrimony's defense. Incuna, an Industrial Archaeology, Cultural and Natural Heritage Association (Asturias) has a working group named "Archives and industrial Heritage". Incuna has promoted the foundation in 2004 of TICCIH's Spanish's Section (The International Commettee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage) to defend the remains of industrial memory (included the Archives) as a cultural heritage and collective memory. TICCIH is an international society dedicated to the study of industrial archaeology and the protection, promotion and interpretation of industrial heritage. The technical Archives' defense is an emerging field in many countries and is at the centre of the attention of industrial archaeologists. Its importance lies with the rapid obsolescens of techniques and machineries and the necessity to create an efficient 'memory' store. Incuna has edited in 2000 a "Asturias industrial Archives Heritage's Basic Study".

Training for Business Archivists

In Spain there is not an educational center or an institution that offers a specific training to be an archivist, not a business archivist. This training is shared with knowledges libraries and documentation centers'management. The basic principles of Archives' arrangement are included in Documentation Bachelor's Degree in 12 Spanish universities, designed to train specialists in the management of all kinds of information. In this degree, University Carlos III of Madrid offers a not compulsory subject called "Business Archives" for three months.

Also it exist not free courses for postgraduates as the "Máster in Archivística" of the University Carlos III, from 1999, orientated to the high-level specialists' training in the different fields of the archives' management. The studies are aimed at bachelors in any subject.

All spanish archivists must apply the general knowledges on archives' management to the Archives where they work. The business archives need specific treatment for their particular problems. The more advanced knowledges must be obtained by practical training courses offered by archivists' professional association or the business itself.

Business Archives Guides

Printed

In Spain there is not a complete index of spanish Business Archives but there exist some finding aids' examples that have been edited in recent years and make known the work carried on a Business Archive. These publications are the fruits of a hard labor during several years.

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The Archivo del Banco Bilbao-Vizcaya-Argentaria (Bank of Bilbao Archive, Bilbao) has condensed, from 1993, numerous volumes about the economic and managerial firms' history wich are in the Archive, and also it has published inventories of several records groups: "Inventario de fondos documentales" (1993), "Compañía del Ferrocarril de La Robla" (1994), "Compañía Jose McLennan de Minas" (1994), "Armamento de Aviación S.A." (1995), "Nivelcampo S.A." (1995) and "Catálogo de la correspondencia comercial de Víctor Chávarri (1890-1893)" (1997).

The Banco de España (Madrid) edited in 2001 " Una Guía de Fuentes sobre inversiones extranjeras en España (1780-1914) = A Guide to Sources of Information on Foreign Investment in Spain (1780-1914) written by Teresa Tortella, Archive's Director, who completed a meticulous work of Archives' compilation. The Guide includes 15 Spanish Business Archives, 4 of them are mining companies, 3 are wine companies and 2 banks.

In 2001 were published many significant contributions. The Hullera Vasco-Leonesa Foundation (León) published "Guía del Archivo de Hullera Vasco-Leonesa" a Guide written by José Andrés González as responsable of this Archive. It is a volume of 221 pages that offers to the researchers the Archive's history and the characteristics of the main records series. The edition has counted with the aid of the Spain Governments' Culture Department.

The Spanish Railroads' Foundation (Madrid) edited the "Guide of the Historical Railway Archive", a small book of 37 pages that is the basic instrument to publish the Archive to the researchers. It include the classification table and the general information services.

The Riotinto Foundation edited in 2008 "Guía del Archivo Histórico Minero de Riotinto".

And, finally, the Archivo Histórico de Sabadell (Barcelona) edited in 2001 the volume "Inventario del fondo de la Compañía ABB Generation S.A 1896-1996", the result of a labor during years in the organization of a great electrical and electromechanical company's records, today property of the Group Alstom.

- Archivo Histórico Banco Bilbao Vizcaya, *Inventarios de fondos documentales: Compañía José Mac Lennan de Minas y otras sociedades mineras*, Bilbao, 1994
- Archivo Histórico Banco Bilbao Vizcaya, *Catálogo de la correspondencia comercial de Víctor Chávarri y Salazar 1890-1893*, Bilbao, 1997
- Teresa Tortella, *Una Guía de Fuentes sobre Inversiones Extranjeras en España 1780-1914*, Madrid, 2000
- Fundación de los Ferrocarriles Españoles. *Guía del Archivo Histórico Ferroviario*, Madrid, 2001
- Joan Comasòlivas et al., *Inventari del fons de l'Empresa ABB Generación S. A. 1896-1996,* Barcelona, 2001
- José Andrés González Pedraza, *Guía del Archivo de Sociedad Anónima Hullera Vasco-Leonesa*, León, 2001

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Digital

Only a few Business Archives have created their website. At present, the websites provides information to the general services, the Archive's history, the classification table, the Archive's activities, the address and location, the access conditions, but not provides access to catalogue. Even so, these sites contain the essential information to contact the Archives. There is not a virtual repository that offers a single point of access to archives geographically dispersed or in the same trade sector.

The web page of the Historical Railway's Archive of the Spanish Railroads' Foundation (Madrid) is the most complete since it provides the access to the railway companies records' catalogue. The records can be searched by any access point. It provides free access to the proceedings of the Railroads History's Congresses too. Also it offers a summary of legislation and historical statistics on Spanish railroads. All these means have been completed by the archives' images of numerous documents as shares, bills, Christmas and leaflets. The web page is shared with the Library and is also available in English language. http://www.ffe.es/documentacion/archivo.htm

The Hullera Vasco-Leonesa Archive (León) also has developed its web page shared with the Hullera Vasco Leonesa's Documentation Center. It offers information about the images records series' projects, the table of classification, the research's areas and free access in format pdf to a numerous bibliography on theory and practice Business Archives. http://www.fhvl.es/CENTRO/Centro.htm

The Sepi's Documentation Center (Madrid) is essential for the Spanish public companies' study. It provides a very good information about the records' creators and includes a Archive's description according to the ISIAH norm draft. The web page is also available in english language. http://archivo.sepi.es

The Bank of Spain Archive's web page introduces to the Archives as a public service of the Banh and includes a Archive' s history, the address and the access conditions. http://www.bde.es/servicio/historic/histori.htm

The Town Gas Archive introduces its information inside the Town Gas History's Center with a brief summary of the Archive's services. http://www.gasnatural.com/

Business Archives Bibliography

The literature on the subject of Spanish Business Archives has grown in recent years considerably. Neither a specific journal nor any handbook exist at the present and the bibliography must been located in the journals' contributions or in chapters' books.

At the beginning, the Business Archives were known at the same time that were published the first studies on the Spanish business and their history. It was usual the interest of the records for the historical research and not as a very important tools for the business management. As I have said in the Introduction, thanks to the

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Teresa Tortella's contributions, the Spanish business Archives began to be known in the eighties.

At the end of 90's, the bibliography has been extended as for the number and as for the subjects to cover, mainly thanks to the incorporation of professional archivists in the firms and to the introduction of this matter in the Universities.

In 1999 Eduardo Núñez, Town Hall's Gijón archivist, includes in his handbook "Organización y gestión de Archivos" a chapter devoted to the Business Archives organisation from the point of view of the management and the planning of a Business Archive's system. Several teachers' contribution (Jose Ramon Cruz Mundet, Manuela Moro Cabero) have insisted on this side of Business Archives as a profitable strategic resource for the business management. So, the ISO 15489 about records management and the procedures on services quality's management have been applied to the business Archives.

In 2002-2003 the "TST Historical Review" summarized four articles to analyze the Spanish Business Archives's circumstances (Andalucía, Manuel Simón Rodríguez, 2002; Cataluña, Albert Taulé, 2002; Castilla y León, Castilla La Mancha y Extremadura, Jose Andrés Gonzalez, 2003; Asturias Cantabria y Galicia, Eduardo Núñez, 2003).

Also in 2003 the volume "Historia empresarial: pasado, presente y retos de futuro" included an Teresa Tortella's article, placing to the Spanish's Business Archives in the European context. The incorporation in this volume of the opinion of a professional archivists to the same level that the historians' opinions it is the evidence of the change produced.

In 2005 and 2008 two national meetings they have stimulated the interest for these Archives. In 2005 the Congress VIII of the Spanish Association of Economic History (Santiago de Compostela) brought together to 10 business archivists that have introduced their works and the importance of the Archives for the economic history. In 2008, inside the Congress VIII of the Archivists' National Association (Madrid) and assembled by the Group of Work in Business Archives, 16 business archivists of different firms have discussed about the business Archives between the heritage and the high technology.

In this year 2009 José Andrés González Pedraza, archivist in Hullera Vasco-Leonesa Archive (León), a company founded in 1893, has been published the first handbook in Spain devoted to business archives, their history, how to organise them, their possibilities for the research and the business marketing, the access and their situation in Spain and Europe.

In recent years a new subject that concerns to the Business Archives has been added: their importance as industrial heritage, inside the interest that nowadays exists in the whole Europe for the recovery of the technological, social and architectural past of the industrial areas.

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"E-Archives": La numérisation des Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima (Portugal)

Cristiana Freitas

Keywords: *Portugal*; *electronic records*; *local archives*

Introduction

Installées dans un immeuble spécialement conçu pour cet effet, les Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima sont chargées de préserver la mémoire archivistique et historique du Département Régional et, entre autres, de la gestion intégrée de l'information de nature "archivistique" des différents organes et services de la municipalité.

Conscientes de cette mission, les Archives Municipales ont réalisées trois propositions de projets à différents programmes de numérisation, prévus dans les Programmes Opérationnels Européens du cadre financier de l'Union Européenne:

1. La numérisation d'une grande partie des Archives Historiques et la diffusion en ligne ont pour but essentiellement de faire connaître à tous les habitants, en particulier aux jeunes, la richesse du patrimoine de Ponte de Lima en offrant à la population l'accès aux ressources archivistiques conservées par les Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima.

2. Les dossiers de permis de construire constituent la documentation des Archives Municipales la plus consultée par les citoyens et par les services municipaux d'urbanisme. Elle est, par conséquent, plus sensible à la dégradation physique causée par la manipulation. Le projet de numérisation a été conçu comme une double réponse à ces problèmes: faciliter l'accès aux documents et préserver la documentation.

Ce projet prévoit aussi d'adopter une Gestion Intégrée du Système d'Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima (dès la création du document et tout au long de son cycle de vie) et la création de *web services* afin d'intégrer ce système aux autres systèmes informatiques utilisés par la Mairie de Ponte de Lima, en particulier celui du Service d'Urbanisme, afin d'éviter la perte de métadonnées et d'objets numériques au cours du temps.

3. Afin de pouvoir conserver à long terme les documents numérisés, les Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima veulent créer un dépôt institutionnel numérique qui permette le dépôt, la gestion et l'accès à l'information des documents numérisés, actuellement stockés sous forme de supports optiques fragiles (DVD), qui par leur vulnérabilité et obsolescence pourront provoquer la perte définitive de l'information indispensable à la constitution et consolidation de la mémoire collective de la région départementale de Ponte de Lima.

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Les principaux objectifs de ces projets de numérisation sont de conserver et diffuser le patrimoine archivistique, ainsi que de rationaliser le travail administratif d'une part, et d'améliorer le service rendu aux citoyens d'autre part, tout en protégeant les registres originaux des manipulations fréquentes risquant, à terme, de les endommager de forme irrémédiable.

1. La numérisation des Archives Historiques

Étant parmi les archives municipales les plus riches du pays, le projet – "Traitement et numérisation des documents des Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima" présenté au Programme Opérationnel de la Culture (POC), a eu comme objectif promouvoir et divulguer le patrimoine archivistique, tout en sauvegardant et conservant les documents originaux. Le recours aux nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication, et par conséquent la migration de support, a été indispensable pour atteindre ce but.

Dans le cadre de ce projet, une grande partie des archives historiques a été numérisée. Parmi ces documents nous pouvons trouver les Chartes Manuélines de Ponte de Lima (1511), de Souto de Rebordões (1514), de São Martinho de Gandra et de Beiral do Lima (1515), ainsi que les collections de parchemins (1326-1634) et de chartes royales (1399-1734), les livres de procès -verbaux municipaux depuis 1567 et les livres des testaments (1836-1938), ce qui représente un total de 188.676 images[1].

Les principaux objectifs du projet sont les suivants :

- Élargir la connaissance du patrimoine archivistique des Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima en s'adressant à d'autres publics;
- Mettre à disposition les résultats du projet, ainsi que permettre l'accès à l'information sur les collections et séries documentaires décrites et numérisées avec le recours aux technologies de l'information et de la communication (TIC);
- Conserver et préserver, à long terme, en bonne condition toute la documentation des Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima, en évitant la dégradation physique causée par sa manipulation;
- Encourager la recherche scientifique et universitaire;
- Transmettre à la population en général, et plus concrètement aux plus jeunes, à l'aide de visites d'études, l'importance de la conservation des documents qui constituent l'héritage culturel et/ou la mémoire collective.

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[1] Trois fichiers d'image ont été créés en fonction des usages suivants:
- Fichier de conservation en format TIFF (300 dpi) – destiné à la consultation e à la conservation (*Master File*);
- Fichier de diffusion en format JPEG (200 dpi) – destiné à la consultation e à l'impression (*Access File*);
- Fichier de visualisation en format JPEG (72 dpi) – destiné à être visualisé sur Internet (*Thumbnail File*).

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Ce projet, pionnier dans la Région, a aussi permis la réalisation d'un Web site et d'un moteur de recherche qui permet la consultation des documents numérisés et les rend accessibles à un plus grand nombre de personnes.

Image 1. Salle de dépôt

Image 2. Web site des Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima

2. Le projet "e-Arquivos"

La mairie de Ponte de Lima a créé de nouveaux systèmes technologiques de l'information qui visent à mettre à disposition des ressources informationnelles numérisées, produites et échangées par les divers services ou départements de la municipalité et par les divers agents externes (citoyens, partenaires publics et autres agents privés).

En conséquence naît le projet "e-archives"[2], par la proposition du projet au Système d'Appui à la Modernisation Administrative (SAMA), intégré dans le "*Quadro de Referência Estratégico Nacional*" (QREN), appui communautaire prévu dans le cadre financier 2007-2013.

Avec le projet "e-archives", les Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima veulent introduire une nouvelle dynamique dans la modernisation administrative au niveau des services – l'objectif est de simplifier les démarches administratives, faire le *reengineering* des processus, augmenter l'efficacité et la transparence des services, réduire les coûts de fonctionnement – et au niveau de l'interactivité entre les citoyens et la Mairie.

Actuellement l'accès à la documentation se fait uniquement sur place – services "physique". Par conséquent, quand un citoyen veut avoir accès à un dossier de permis de construire, il devra se diriger au Service d'Urbanisme de la Mairie ou

[2] Cristiana Freitas et Paulo Jorge Sousa, *Projecto "e-arquivos": estudos de caso do Arquivo Municipal de Ponte de Lima*, Coimbra, 2009, Vol. 2, p. 93-104. [http://eprints.rclis.org/bitstream/10760/16359/1/Artigo_eArquivos_EDIBCIC_publicado.pdf].

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aux Archives Municipales (où se conservent les permis de construire délivrés entre 1935 et 2008). Il en est de même pour les dossiers qui doivent être transférés des Archives au Service d'Urbanisme, pour être consultés par quiconque en fait la demande, ce qui oblige un fonctionnaire à se déplacer exprès d'un immeuble à l'autre.

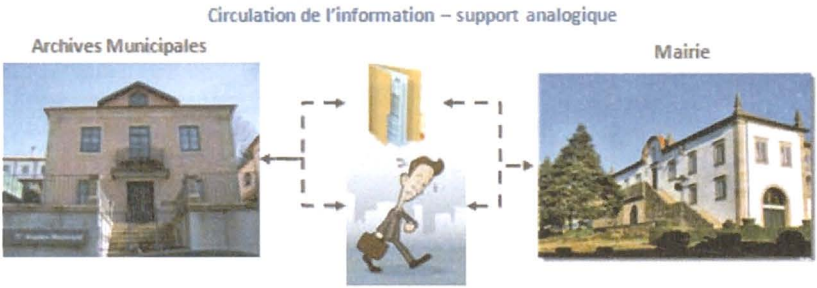

Image 3. Circulation des dossiers de permis de construire (circuit analogique)

Malgré que les différents immeubles soient reliés entre eux par fibre optique, le système informatique utilisé par les Archives – ArqHist – n'est pas encore intégré aux autres systèmes informatiques utilisés par la Mairie.

Il est par conséquent nécessaire d'implanter une Gestion Intégrée du Système d'Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima (dès la création du document et tout au long de son cycle de vie). Celle-ci permettra une intégration technique entre les services de la Mairie et le système de gestion d'Archives, avec une réduction des risques de défauts de communication entre softwares et éviter la perte de métadonnées et d'objets numériques au cours du temps.

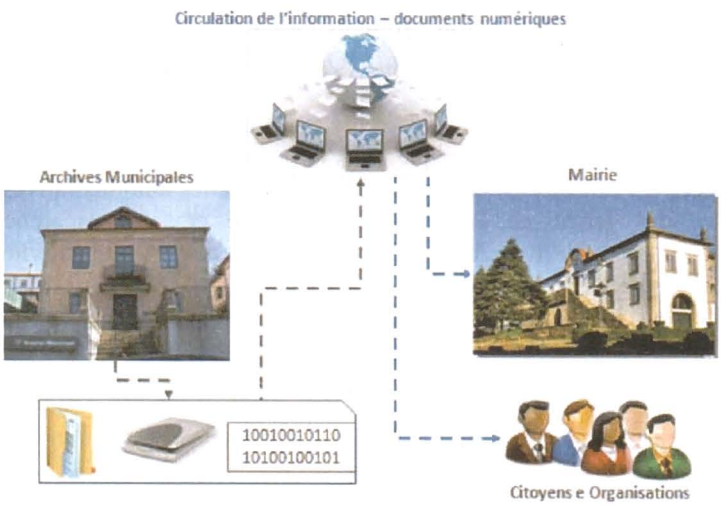

Image 4. Circulation des dossiers de permis de construire (circuit numérique)

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Étant donné que les dossiers de permis de construire sont les documents les plus demandés par les utilisateurs internes (départements de la mairie) ainsi que par les utilisateurs externes (citoyens), le projet de numérisation a été mis en place en envisageant divers objectifs:

- Faciliter et simplifier les procédures de traitement des dossiers de permis de construire;
- Restructurer le context organisationnel;
- Moderniser et rendre plus efficace la gestion documentaire;
- Augmenter la facilité et rapidité de diffusion des documents ainsi que son accessibilité via Web, permettant leur accès aux personnes handicapés;
- Améliorer les services rendus aux usagers;
- Réduire les coûts de fonctionnement;
- Préserver et conserver les documents, en évitant la dégradation causée par une manipulation intensive.

Ce projet vise aussi à:

- L'achat et installation de scanners A2 et A0 aux Archives Municipales;
- L'achat d'ordinateurs afin de créer des postes de consultation dans la salle de lecture;
- L'achat d'un software – Gestion Intégrée du Système d'Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima – et la création de *web services* afin d'intégrer ce système aux autres systèmes informatiques utilisés par la Mairie de Ponte de Lima, en particulier au Service d'Urbanisme.

Image 5. Scanner A0 e scanner planétaire A2

2.1. Stratégie

Le projet "e-archives" vise à mieux comprendre l'écologie informationnelle, quel est le cycle de vie de l'information au sein du système global d'information de la municipalité, et qui sont les agents qui produisent et reçoivent l'information. Par ce fait, les Archives sont devenues un acteur beaucoup plus actif et plus intervenant dans la dynamique organisationnelle.

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Le concept de municipalité digitale suppose un profond travail au sein des Mairies, département à département, service à service car "l'enjeu de l'Administration électronique ne se limite pas au développement d'une interface électronique avec le citoyen lui permettant de télécharger des formulaires, accéder à quelques bases de données, voire effectuer quelques procédures simples comme l'envoi de déclarations fiscales. Derrière l'usage des TIC se profile le *reengineering* de l'Administration qui peut profiter de la mise en œuvre de ces technologies pour se réformer"[3].

Par conséquent, les actions suivantes ont été considérées:

- l'étude des fonctions et compétences des services;
- l'identification des typologies de documents et des types de dossiers;
- l'analyse des flux d'information (*workflow*) pour repenser et simplifier les procédures et les circuits administratifs.

"Les principaux objectifs de ces études préliminaires ont été de déceler les anomalies du système, notamment les défauts dans ces circuits et l'absence de contrôle à divers moments (à la réception, traitement et même à l'expédition) fonctionnant comme un instrument de correction et d'optimisation, en termes prospectifs, afin d'atteindre une meilleur efficacité du service [...]. Grâce aux Archives, les méthodes actuelles sont mises en causes, les circuits informationnels sont analysés et repensés et des mesures qui visent à rendre plus efficace la transmissibilité et la récupération de l'information sont adoptées, avec la nette volonté de contribuer à une meilleure gestion organisationnelle."[4]

Le projet a comme objectifs:

- la numérisation des dossiers de permis de construire conservés aux Archives Municipales à l'aide de matériel spécialisé en fonction da la typologie de documents – scanner à rouleau pour les plans et scanner A2 pour le reste;
- l'organisation et le traitement des dossiers numériques, ainsi que la création d'indices en ayant recours à la désignation des typologies documentaires qui les constituent. Les objets numériques sont associés à leur respective description documentaire (Base de Données) et disponibles à la consultation/reproduction;
- développer une Gestion Intégrée du Système d'Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima (dès la création du document et tout au long de son cycle de vie) qui puisse garantir le respect des exigences et normes nécessaires, tout en permettant l'intégration informationnelle des services de la municipalité et des Archives, afin de permettre la gestion des différentes phases du cycle de vie de l'information, ayant pour base une perspective systémique de la gestion intégrée du système d'information municipal actif et permanent. Il devra respecter les normes, protocoles et bonnes pratiques comme: ISO 15489; EAD 2, MOREQ 2, OAIS Model, ISO 14721: 2003, MIP, NP 4438: 1-2, ISAD (G)2, ISAAR (CPF) 2, ISDIAH, ISDF,

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[3] Eric Brousseau, *Les trois défis de l'Administration Electronique*, 2002, p. 4. [http:// www.brousseau.info/pdf/EBCEe-Stration.pdf].

[4] Fernanda Ribeiro & Maria Eugénia Matos Fernandes, *Universidade do Porto: Estudo orgânico-funcional (Modelo de análise para fundamentar o conhecimento do Sistema de Informação Arquivo)*, Porto, 2001, p. 48.

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ODA I, II et III, EAC 2, Z39.87 (MIX) et OAI/PMH;

- la création de *web services* afin d'intégrer ce système aux autres systèmes informatiques utilisés par la Mairie de Ponte de Lima, en particulier au Service d'Urbanisme;
- mettre à disposition l'information grâce au Web site de la Mairie. Les citoyens peuvent aussi bien avoir accès à l'information à travers du poste de consultation existant dans la salle de lecture des Archives qu'à partir de chez eux à travers la consultation en ligne.

3. Le projet "Dépôt institutionnel numérique"

En Mai 2009, une proposition de projet a été déposée au Programme Opérationnel Région du Nord – "acquisition d'équipements de support à l'installation, conservation, gestion, utilisation et divulgation du patrimoine archivistique" afin de créer un "dépôt numérique".

Les Archives Municipales de Ponte de Lima veulent créer un dépôt institutionnel numérique orienté vers la préservation d'objets numériques de conservation permanente et accessible aux utilisateurs externes à la municipalité, qui permette le dépôt, la gestion et l'accès à l'information des documents numérisés, actuellement stockés sous forme de supports optiques fragiles (DVD), qui par leur vulnérabilité et obsolescence pourront provoquer cette perte d'information.

Afin d'éviter la perte définitive de l'information indispensable à la constitution et consolidation de la mémoire collective de la région départementale de Ponte de Lima, seront adoptées des méthodes d'analyse des critères, étude de projets, réalisation et évaluation des différent types de modèles, normes et applications technologiques appropriées à la préservation de l'information.

Le dépôt numérique ne fonctionnera qu'avec le respect des bonnes pratiques internationales, ainsi qu'avec la création de métadonnées de préservation tout au long des phases du cycle de vie des documents numériques. Il s'agira donc de garantir le recours à certaines normes et protocoles suivantes:

- OAIS (Open Archival Information System)
- Z.39.87 (Technical Metadata for Digital Still Images)
- METS (Digital Library Federation/Biblioteca do Congresso)
- PREMIS (Online Computers Library Center e Research Libraries Group)
- OAI/PMH (Open Archives Initiative/Protocol for Metadata Harvesting)

Conclusion

Avec le recours aux nouvelles technologies de production, gestion, récupération et diffusion de l'information au cours de la modernisation administrative et organisationnelle, la Mairie de Ponte de Lima s'est rapprochée de ces citoyens, puisqu'ils peuvent avoir accès aux services de la municipalité de façon synchrone et/ou asynchrone.

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Le système intégré d'information de la municipalité permettra une réduction du temps d'exécution des procédures de traitement des dossiers; de rentabiliser les ressources humaines en leur donnant les outils et les méthodes adéquats; d'augmenter la vitesse d'accès à l'information; une meilleure communication entres les différents départements de la municipalité ainsi que de ceux-ci avec les citoyens et pour finir une réduction des coûts généraux de fonctionnement.

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Experiences on the Archival Organization of the former Brazilian Communist Party (PCB)*

André Porto Ancona Lopez

Keywords: *Brazil*; *communist parties*; *political archives*

Unfortunately, the Brazilian institutions of archives seem not to care about a specific part of the national memory by leaving on the sidelines the political party archives. Most of the institutions that are preoccupied with this issue generally hold only personal archives of important political characters of the national history. On the other side, those archives include some institutional papers which are the main sources to retrieve the documents of certain political parties. The Brazilian government has been preserving records of its actions at the Arquivo Nacional[1] and at the parliament archive. The main issue of those records is that they are not representative of all the party actions but only the institutional and recorded actions; in fact, they are not party archives but governmental archives. In Brazilian history, political parties have just played a secondary role, far away from the population. It contributes to a non-systematic policy of preservation of their documents.

The first Brazilian parties were formed in the first half of the 19th century – when Brazil was an Empire, ruled by an oligarchy – and had only performed a decorative role. Almost nothing of this period still exists but the governmental records.

Concerning the political parties, just a few things changed with the advent of the republic in 1889 until the turbulent movement of 1930 that established a new correlation of the political power with a large participation of different groups; those groups still represented the elite, but they were wider than the tradition oligarchy. The society claim for increased political participation began with initial organized movements by the year 1920. The Brazilian Communist Party foundation was in 1922 and it was illegal from that date until just a few months in 1947/1948. Unfortunately, the only registers that remained from that period were linked to the formal politics, being very difficult to find party records of that moment, especially those that were produced by an illegal party. About that and the consecutive period,

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* This paper represents a part of the results presented on the book André Porto Ancona Lopez, *Tipologia documental de partidos e associações políticas brasileiras*, São Paulo, 1999. It is the updated version of the report presented at the course *Party Archives after the Collapse of Communism* promoted by the Open Society Archives and the Central European University/Budapest in July 2001. Rodrigo Olher Fernandes Garcia and Fabiano Zardo helped with the English version.

[1] More information about the Arquivo Nacional can be found at http://www.arquivonacional.gov.br/. The site indicates thirteen holdings that may have party records: eleven personal fonds, one miscellaneous collection and just one party fond, formed by a single book of acts of the Partido Republicano Brasiliero.

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there was not any systematic effort to preserve or hold party archives but, on the other hand, it is still possible to find many party documents mixed not only with official records[2] but also with personal archives. The material about the proliferation of non-governmental political parties that had taken place since the 1930 movement was found in personal archives. The CPDOC institution[3] has plenty of personal archives of important Brazilian public men that contained party records among them[4]. A delightful exception is the archive of the Democratic Party, which played an important role during the 1930 movement, and a few years after, as well that is over IHGSP[5] responsibility[6]. Other kinds of institutions that might have party documents among their collections are municipal archives, such as the Arquivo Público e Histórico de Rio Claro[7] which has under its custody the archives of the Brazilian Integralist Action (AIB) and the further Party of the People's Representation (PRP), which had symbolized the Brazilian fascist movement[8]. These documents are mixed with the personal archives of its leader Plínio Salgado[9], born in Rio Claro.

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[2] See, for example the fond Julio Prestes, an important character of the 1930 movement, at the Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo – AESP which has its inventory already published: Silvana Goulart Guimarães & Regina Maria Teles, *Inventário do Arquivo Júlio Prestes de Albuquerque*, São Paulo, 1987. See also http://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/guia_ficha.php?fundo=111 &palavra=.

[3] Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, institution founded in 1973, more information can be found at http://cpdoc.fgv.br/sobre.

[4] Despite 121 collections of Brazilian important public men, CPDOC has only five party holdings, and, out of those five, only two have a significant amount of documents: *Arena,* the official party instituted by the dictatorship of 1964, with 20,000 documents and *Clube 3 de Outubro*, a small and a brief regional group from the 1930 movement, with 900 documents. More information is available at http://cpdoc.fgv.br/acervo/arquivospessoais.

[5] The Instituto Histórico Geográfico de São Paulo was founded in 1894 and is experiencing great financial issues. The archives do not have appropriate finding aids. A preliminary guide was made by the students of the post-graduation (specialization) course on archive of USP in 2000. The Institute operates with some hour restriction. More information can be asked by mail: Rua Benjamin Constant, 158 – São Paulo (SP) – 01005-000 – Brazil.

[6] The archives of the Democratic Party had only survived due to the preservation effort of one of their leaders, Aureliano Leite, who was also a member of the IHGSP. In this year, the students of the post-graduation (specialization) course on archive of USP, under our supervision, made a preliminary identification of the fond, appalling the proposed typology of our book. Those documents were used in one of the most important research about the political history of that period, which was made by Maria Lígia Coelho Prado, *A democracia ilustrada: O Partido Democrático de São Paulo (1926-1934)*, São Paulo, 1985. Most of the documents are from the Central Committee and demand a complete archival organization, since their actual subject disposition does not allow understanding the documentary functions. The archive was measured in approximately eight linear meters.

[7] Rio Claro Municipal Archive, http://www.aphrioclaro.sp.gov.br/ acervo/.

[8] Detailed information about those documents may be found at http://www.aphrioclaro.sp.gov.br/ acervo/arquivo-permanente/plinio-salgado/.

[9] The organization of the personal archive of Plinio Salgado represented a new model, in a tentative to solve many problems generated by the CPDOC proposal. For this issue, see Ana Maria de

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In 1964, the democratic process was interrupted by a coup d'état, introducing a military government that lasted until 1984. During this period the participation of the political parties was toughly repressed by authoritarian methods, which included murder and torture, side by side a restrictive legislation. The status quo of a still democratic country was maintained with the formal facade of a party regimen that had only two allowed parties: one for the government and other for the opposition; this last one was hardly controlled and had very limited action. Unfortunately, no kind of preservation was made, systematic or not, of the daily documents of those parties. Once again, we can only find those documents mixed with archives from other nature, like governmental, personal, etc. Nevertheless, despite of the regimen intentions, there were many political organizations (as illegal parties, like the CP, or other kind of actors) outside formal politics, which could also be part of the allowed opposing party. Due to the repressive apparatus, the militants usually destroyed all their records afraid of the consequences.

Paradoxically, the other way to find political parties documents is searching into the records of the repression apparatus because they had archived a lot of documents of the movements against the government[10]. These holdings actually possess a lot of political party material but, on the other hand, they are more representative of the action of the repression than the political parties themselves and do not reflect the internal structures of those entities. Another source of political party documents is the research made by the project *Brasil Nunca Mais*. This project has made a huge contribution to denounce the torture and the power abuses (even under the military law) performed during the dictatorship period. They used official documents to prove how the State did not respect the laws that it had created. The researchers worked with the lawsuites produced by the regimen against their opponents copying and indexing those documents. The attachments of those lawsuites brought a vast amount of party documents that are very significant about the action of those political actors[11].

However, we have noticed a proliferation of institutions in the 1980s related to the record preservation about social movements, especially those about labor unions, political associations, and non-governmental organizations related to

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Almeida Camargo, *Arquivos pessoais: uma proposta de descrição*, "Arquivo: boletim histórico e informativo", 9 (1988), 1, p. 21-24.

[10] The various provincial Social and Political Order Departments (DEOPS), which had existed as a political police, collected a huge amount of political documents. The DEOPS of São Paulo was probably the most active one. A part of their documents is available to research at AESP: http://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/permanente/deops.php.

[11] The Project *Brasil: Nunca Mais* [Brazil: Never more] made photocopies of all the documents, including the attachments, and distributed them for many institutions in and out of the country, like Arquivo Edgar Leuenroth (http://segall.ifch.unicamp.br/site_ael/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=107&Itemid=90). The main report of the project was published in 1985 (Arquidiocese de São Paulo, *Brasil: nunca mais*, 18th ed., Petrópolis, 1986) and translated to several countries (Archdiocese of Sao Paulo, *Torture in Brazil: a shocking report on the pervasive use of torture by Brazilian military governments, 1964-1979* (transl. by Jaime Wright), Texas, 1998).

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citizenship and minorities' movements. These political actors had played an important role on the democratization process, which began facing the dictatorship in 1964. The participation of such actors had increased during the second half of the 1970 decade. With the liberalization of the political rights in the country and with the end of military government – that had its main milestone in 1989 with a general election – many scholars, scientists and citizens were concerned about the preservation of the memory and the documents of that process[12]. Nevertheless, the documents that had surpassed from the military period were very poor on political party archives if we consider the total documentary production of those organizations. The only exceptions are the institutions that were formed by militants concerned about record preservation[13].

This situation could be explained by the tendency of careless about records, documents and history in Brazil. Generally, some political party documents have survived due to a personal effort of some of their members and have a tendency to be mixed with the personal documents of those people. Since the Brazilian archival science is still a new area and has no tradition[14] all the procedures of organization of party documents were posed by those who usually took care of personal archives who had a librarianship education most of the times. Thus, most of the political party records were taken out from their general context to satisfy some researches demands, completely destroying the archival principles by organizing the documents by subjects and neglecting their institutional origin.

The archival organization must always try to portray the real activities of the institutions and, as long as it is possible, be a faithful mirror of those actions. The documentary production can be contextualized, in accordance to the principles posed by the archival theory. The difficulty stands on the fact that the functions really developed by an institution – especially in the clandestine parties, but also in the

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[12] The Arquivo Edgar Leuenroth is a good example of that tendency and congregates a large number of fonds related to the social movements. It is supported by UNICAMP, an important Brazilian public university (http://segall.ifch.unicamp.br/site_ael/).

[13] The *Centro de Pastoral Vergueiro* was the largest institution of that kind. It was founded in 1968 by militants with the intention of creating a documentary center for the opponents of the military dictatorship. With the end of the military regimen, it was converted to an important center of political and party documentation. Today it changed the name to *Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa Vergueiro* (Rua São Domingos 224 – São Paulo (SP) – 01326-000 – Brazil, http:// segall.ifch.unicamp.br/site_ael/. The Centro de Documentação do Movimento Operário Mário Pedrosa was founded in 1981 by a group of militant intellectuals with Trotskyite thoughts, who collect huge amount of leftist tendency material related to the leftist tendency (Trotskyite or not). More information can be found at http://www1.cedem.unesp.br/acervos/acervo_cemap.htm.

[14] The Brazilian Archivists Association was founded on October 20, 1971 and the first experience in the direction of normalization was presented at the first Brazilian Congress of Archival Science in 1972, but published only in 1979: Associação dos Arquivistas Brasileiros, *Terminologia arquivística*, in Congresso Brasileiro de Arquivologia, 1°, 1972, Rio de Janeiro; *Anais do 1° Congresso Brasileiro de Arquivologia*, Brasília, 1979, p. 435-449. A concise history of the Brazilian archival science was made by José Maria Jardim, *A arquivologia no Brasil: breve esboço de um percurso recente*, in *Sistemas e políticas públicas de arquivos no Brasil*, Niterói, 1995, p. 57-63.

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official ones – are diverse from those that are recorded or officially published. Even so, on those circumstances, the information about the activities was rare and there was also a deliberated hiding of the illegal actions shaped by the minimum production of compromising records and by their further elimination.

On the analysis of significant documents produced by clandestine parties, we noted that the outlaw condition of those groups has influenced the documentary production to theirs needs, without any concern with legal protocols. By the absence of other references, the clandestine parties adopted a documentary terminology very similar to the official one. For example: there were many documents named *acts*, *reports*, *notes*, etc., which were not necessarily faithful to the traditional (and official) models. We notice, indeed, a lack of standardization of the documentary production, with great contextual variations on the functions and on the range of the records, even inside or outside of the organizations. Such variety was seen not only between different parties but also between different administration periods of the same entity.

The documentary holdings originated in party organizations, mainly in the clandestine ones that are under the custody of archives, documentary centers and other similar institutions, are in general formed by documents which had the mobilization and social consciousness as their main goals. It is interesting to notice that the records related to the daily activities of material infrastructure – like paying the rent of the committee or buying some coffee, for example –, which are indispensable to support the political action, had rarely survived in this type of holding. It is impossible to determine whether the vanishing of such records had occurred during the tortuous path covered until their arrival on a documentary center or if they were discarded instead to be organized by the documentary institutions. On such holdings, most of our findings are wide instruments to achieve the population as periodicals, bulletins, leaflets, pamphlets etc. As we have already mentioned, in Brazil these "trivial" documents have the tendency to be diminished by archivists responsible for their preservation and scientific diffusion, putting then into a mysterious miscellaneous series without any functional specification[15].

Facing that situation, we had started a research with the intention to find manners to archive political party records since the Brazilian archival science has not postulated any directive to this type of holding. Besides, the directives used by some institutions were adapted from the procedures adopted on personal archives that were more closely related to librarian reference of documents than archival organization. The systematization of a documentary typology, specific for those holdings, had the

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[15] For CPDOC, the miscellaneous series is "[...] composed by the documents that can not fit in others series [...] like visit cards, restaurant menus, folders, notes, pamphlets, various receipts, etc." (Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, *Procedimentos técnicos em arquivos privados*. Rio de Janeiro, 1986, p. 11-12; Regina da Luz Moreira, *Arranjo e descrição em arquivos privados pessoais: ainda uma estratégia a ser definida?*, Rio de Janeiro, 1990, p. 32) See also Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil. *Procedimentos técnicos adotados para a organização de arquivos privados*, Rio de Janeiro, 1994, p. 11-12.

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intent of solve many problems originated from a generalization of the technical procedures on the private archives[16] organization. These procedures, in general, pasteurize the particularities of each variety of documentary holding, since the private archives represents, in fact, a large and heterogeneous universe. They also compromise the task of contextualize the documents. The political party organizations present specific attributes that have the tendency to be ignored with the universalizing schemes suggested by the available bibliography in Brazil about the subject.

The traditional arrangement by organizational structure in the case of the Brazilian parties' archives does not permit the retrieval of the real functions and activities developed, which also have the tendency to be dissolved when the formal aspects of the documents are prioritized. On the organizations in question, the records were produced, in principle, without any regulation, official normalization or legal concern. Thus, it is necessary to consider also the informal elements presented on the recording production of the political parties.

We detached, as an exercise and a theoretical example, a situation where all those characteristics assume extreme proportions: the clandestine political groups. They present a huge discrepancy between the formal (or normalized) functions and those that are effectively developed. Nevertheless, it is important to point that even the legal parties many times performed activities outside their official facades. In this sense, the study of the clandestine groups is justified not only to the comprehension of informal activities done by those groups but also to the understanding of the extralegal practices of the officially constitute parties.

To contextualize the archival documents of parties and political associations means, in our case, that each document will have to be grouped exclusively with those that constitute a typological documentary series. By typological documentary series, we understand the aggregation of specific documentary species with their generation activities[17]. In this sense, we cannot mix bulletins and pamphlets anymore into a miscellaneous series, since they must be separated. Nevertheless, we also have to apart those documentary species according to their functions, making the archival series. For example, a propaganda bulletin will constitute a different series than a bulletin made for the political discussion with the militants.

We also tested this model on a concrete situation, applying the typology that we have proposed on the archival organization of the documents of a regional (district) committee of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) – the Diretório Regional de Pinheiros (São Paulo/SP). This committee was active from 1984 until the ending of the PCB, in 1992. Their documents reflect no only the strict sense political actions of that committee, but also the daily activities related to the maintenance of the bureau, payment of the bills etc. It is probably the only case in Brazil that such daily documents were integrated to the archival organization. They

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[16] In Brazil, political parties are private institutions.

[17] According to Heloísa Liberalli Bellotto, *Tipologia documental em arquivos: novas abordagens*, "Arquivo Rio Claro", 9 (1990), 1, p. 4-15 and *Dicionário de terminologia arquivística*, São Paulo, 1996.

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also could bring important information about some political action of the party. For example, the decisions of the ninth Brazilian Communist Party Congress, in January 1990 introduced several structural changes all over the party. At the same time, the party started to decline. The falling was strongly denied by the Central Committee, especially in the official periodical of the party. However, the documents of the Pinheiros' District Committee demonstrate the opposite: since February 1990, the payment of the rent was interrupted and a lot of bills and eviction orders pilled up until the end of the committee's activities in June 1990.

During the application of our functional typological proposal on the archives of Pinheiros' District Committee, we could contextualize documents that would be widely separated in a traditional structural arrangement or gathered, without any distinction into a miscellaneous series.

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Qualche osservazione sul Ms. 6 dell'Archivio Capitolare di Perugia

Riccardo Ciliberti

Keywords: *Italian manuscripts*; *musical scores*; *religious music*; *miniatures*

Il manoscritto 6 della Biblioteca del Capitolo di Perugia, un messale, è molto noto tra gli studiosi di storia della miniatura, della liturgia, della musica e del libro. Tutti coloro che se ne sono occupati[1] hanno elaborato varie ipotesi sia relativamente alla provenienza del codice, sia in rapporto alla sua datazione. Tuttavia, a parte lo studio delle miniature, l'analisi del manoscritto è stata condotta sempre in maniera incompleta e settoriale, talvolta anche poco rigorosa. In queste pagine ho cercato, invece, di portare alla luce alcuni aspetti del codice che, forse, erano stati trascurati, in particolare quello liturgico e musicale. Proprio per questo è sembrato opportuno, a causa della tipologia limitata del lavoro da svolgere in questa sede, concentrare l'attenzione sulla sezione del tempo dell'Avvento (che coincide con le cc. 9r-49v del Messale) e, per quanto riguarda i canti, sul *proprium missae* della prima domenica dell'Avvento, ovvero di quell a parte della liturgia più strettamente legata al luogo e all'istituzione che ha commissionato la manifattura del codice. Tale analisi è preceduta da una descrizione dell'apparato decorativo definito "minore" che, come studi di qualche tempo fa hanno chiarito[2], lungi dall'essere il risultato di creazione estemporanea del decoratore, risponde a tecniche precise e ricorrenti, indagabili sia cronologicamente, sia stilisticamente.

1. Storia e provenienza

Alla carta 5r, in corrispondenza della data del 12 luglio, posta nel calendario del messale perugino, si può leggere: "In dedicatio ecclesie Acconiensis", ovvero il giorno della consacrazione della chiesa di 'Akkā (cioè di San Giovanni d'Acri) che divenne la sede del Patriarcato Latino di Gerusalemme[3]. Caduti gli stati latini in

[1] Quest'articolo è frutto di un lavoro portato avanti durante la mia tesi triennale all'Università degli Studi di Perugia. Ringrazio il mio relatore il prof. A. Ciaralli. Si possono trovare informazioni bibliografiche in C. Dondi, *The liturgy of the cannons regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem*, Turnhout, 2004, p. 194-195; L. Magionami, *I manoscritti del Capitolo di San Lorenzo di Perugia*, Roma, 2006, p. 49; A. Caleca, *Miniature in Umbria*, 1: *La Biblioteca Capitolare di Perugia*, Firenze, 1969, p. 171.

[2] S. Patterson, *Minor initial decoration used to date the Propertius fragment*, "Scriptorium" 28 (1974), 2, p. 235-247.

[3] Si rimanda a B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, Londra, 1980, al capitolo *Jerusalem after 1187*, p. 243 e ss.

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Terra Santa (1291) il Patriarcato continuò a sussistere e Rodolfo di Grandville, consacrato a Parigi come patriarca (1294-1304), scelse quale nuova sede Barletta, opzione supportata dal favore di Carlo II d'Angiò, particolarmente interessato alle istituzioni d'Outremer[4], nonché dalla singolare concentrazione di beni appartenenti all'Ordine dei Canonici del Santo Sepolcro[5] (strettamente legato al patriarca[6]), e dal particolare *status* giuridico che questi patrimoni godevano in Puglia, essendo emancipati dalla giurisdizione vescovile[7]. Ma quale fu, in breve, il percorso che portò il manoscritto da San Giovan ni d'Acri a Perugia?

Il più antico insediamento dei Canonici del Santo Sepolcro a Perugia (forse già presente poco prima della seconda metà del XII secolo[8]) è l'antica Chiesa di Santa Croce, con l'ospedale che un tempo vi era annesso. È necessario sottolineare come anche la chiesa madre di San Giovanni d'Acri fosse intitolata alla Santa Croce e dal 1263 fosse divenuta la sede del Patriarca di Gerusalemme. Una lettera di Bendetto XI indirizzata al Patriarca Rodolfo di Grandville, datata Perugia 5 giugno 1304, con la quale il papa concedeva al prelato l'amministrazione della diocesi di Brindisi, ha fatto supporre che questi si trovasse a Perugia per sollecitare l'emissione del documento. Tale circostanza potrebbe far collocare lo spostamento del capitolo generale del Santo Sepolcro (o solamente la decisione di tale spostamento) nella città umbra tra il 5 giugno e il 7 lugli o 1304, data della morte del papa[9]. Tuttavia, come sottolinea Francesco Tommasi, "un più sicuro termine *ante quem* per il trasferimento della sede centrale del Santo Sepolcro a Perugia va considerato il 1316", cioè quando fu emanato a Perugia nel palazzo comunale il privilegio generale per l'Ordine[10]. Nella città umbra la Chiesa di Santa Croce per le sue piccole dimensioni non poteva accogliere il capitolo della *societas*, che si riunì in quella più capiente di San Luca[11].

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[4] R. Mols, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 12, Paris, 1953, coll. 80-101 (84-90).

[5] G. Bresc-Bautier, *Les possessions des églises de Terre Sainte en Italie du Sud (Pouille, Calabre, Sicile)*, in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo*. Atti delle I giornate normanno-sveve, Università di Bari, Bari, 1991, p. 13-40.

[6] W. Maigne, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique des Ordres de Chevalerie civils et militaires*, Puiseaux, 1999, p. 206-207; V. Sibilio, *I cavalieri del Santo Sepolcro tra milizia monastica ed ordine equestre*. Conferenza del 23 novembre 2006 presso il Seminario Vescovile di San Severo [www.diocesidisansevero.it/cavssep.asp]; S. Runciman, *Storia delle crociate*, Torino, 1966, p. 271-280.

[7] G. Bresc-Bautier, *Bulles d'Urbain IV en faveur de l'ordre du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, "Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen âge-Temps modernes" 85 (1973), p. 283-309.

[8] La prima attestazione documentaria risale al pontificato di Lucio II (12 marzo 1144-15 febbraio 1145). Cf. E. Coli, M. da Marco, F. Tommasi, *Militia Sacra. Gli ordini militari tra Europa e Terrasanta*, Perugia, 1994, p. 205-206.

[9] F. Tommasi, *Fondi documentari ultramarini in Italia: l'Archivio del Santo Sepolcro da Acri a Perugia*, in *Militia Sancti Sepulcri. Idea e Istituzioni*. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale tenuto presso la Pontificia Università del Laterano, 10-12 Aprile 1996, Città del Vaticano, 1998, p. 430.

[10] *Ibidem*.

[11] Cfr. K. Elm, *L'italiano Cataneus de Traversagnis e l'olandese Jan Van Abroek*, in *L'Italia alla fine del Medioevo: i caratteri originali nel quadro europeo* (a cura di F. Salvestrini), Firenze, p. 144.

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Le perdite di parti dell'archivio dei Canonici del Santo Sepolcro ubicato in San Luca, gli sconvolgimenti istituzionali provocati dall'annessione del Santo Sepolcro all'Ordine degli Ospitalieri di San Giovanni, l'abolizione delle corporazioni religiose nel 1798 durante la Repubblica Romana, la soppressione napoleonica del 1810 e quella dello stato pre-unitario del 1860 hanno portato alla totale dissoluzione dell'archivio dell'Ordine[12].

Difficile è dunque ricostruire esattamente l'*iter* conservativo del nostro messale. Redatto a (o per) San Giovanni D'Acri, da questa città passò, unitamente all'archivio dell'Ordine, a Cipro, poi da Cipro a Barletta, e, alla fine, da Barletta alla chiesa di San Luca a Perugia. Non è certo quando e come il messale da qui entrò a far parte dell'Archivio Capitolare di Perugia: nel 1763, comunque, ancora non faceva parte del fondo, poiché non compare nel rogito di consegna della collezione libraria dell'archivio capitolare del 31 agosto di quell'anno, quando questa passò ai canonici della cattedrale di San Lorenzo. È presente invece nell'inventario del 1887. La numerazione attuale di Ms. 6 (prima era il numero 21) risale al catalogo approntato per l'inaugurazione del Museo dell'Opera del Duomo nel 1923[13].

2. Le decorazioni "minori"

Prima di passare al contenuto liturgico-musicale vorrei soffermarmi su un aspetto che ritengo importante per la datazione del codice: le decorazioni "minori".

Generalmente i motivi sono somiglianti a fiori e racemi vegetali. Di solito l'inchiostro utilizzato per questi ornamenti è il minio se la lettera è scritta in blu e viceversa. La decorazione all'interno degli occhielli e delle aste delle lettere ha uno stile tondeggiante e riccioluto. Seguono i vari modelli che ricorrono all'interno del manoscritto.

Lettere di taglia piccola (non decorate da c. 196r alla fine).

Con due linee parallele (24v).

Con una decorazione a forma di forcella (c. 194r).

[12] F. Tommasi, *op. cit.*, p. 433-436.
[13] L. Magionami, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

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(c. 25r).

(c. 128r).

Lettere di taglia piccola e media.

A un riccioletto (c. 42r).

A due riccioletti (c. 37r).

A tre riccioletti (c. 37r).

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Lettere di taglia media decorazioni esterne al corpo della lettera.

Bulbo (c. 24r).

Bulbo con punto e collare (c. 28r).

Ricciolo (c. 18r).

Coda di gatto con ricciolo (c. 37v).

Linea ondulata (c. 56v). Da carta 164r i riccioli quasi scompaiono e le code di gatto con ricciolo diventano meno frequenti in favore di questi modelli che seguono.

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Coda di gatto terminante a forcella e con un ricciolo (c. 164r).

Coda di gatto con linea ondulata (c. 196r).

Coda di gatto terminante a forcella e con linea ondulata (c. 196r).

Pesce (c. 237r). Presente solo nella seconda parte del manoscritto, compare quindici volte in tutto, precisamente alle carte: 237r, 238v, 250v, 262r, 269r, 274 r, 286v, 320v, 330v, 336v, 350r, 374v, 382v, 413r e 434r. Si riscontra una decorazione con lo stesso tema nel manoscritto delle consuetudini cistercensi Bruges, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 309[14], ma con esiti molto differenti e più "pesanti".

Linea ondulata (c. 94r).

[14] Cf. G. I. Lieftinck, *Manuscrits datés conservés dans les Pays Bas: catalogue paléographique des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date. 1 – Les manuscrits d'origine étrangère: 816-c. 1550*, Amsterdam, 1964, pl. 64.

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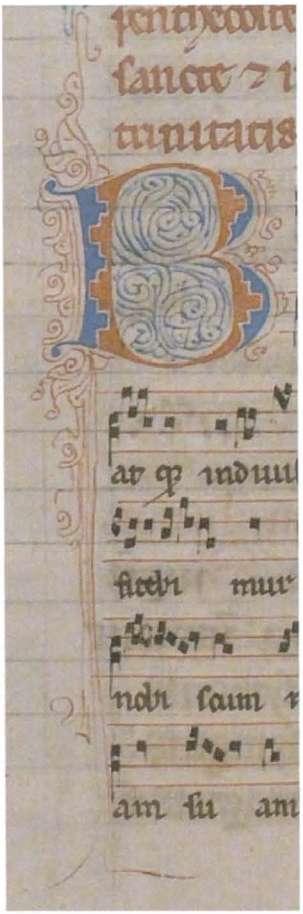
I capilettera di taglia grande, realizzati sia con inchiostro rosso che blu e particolarmente ricchi di racemi, sono quasi assenti nella prima parte del manoscritto (solo un caso a c. 28v) mentre risultano più frequenti nella seconda parte (alle carte 224r, 229v due, 241v, 242r, 324v, 325r, 334v, 340r-v, 344r, 359r-v, 364v, 366v, 375v, 384r e 444r)[15].



(c. 241v).

Possiamo constatare la presenza di tutti e quattro gli elementi individuati da Sonia Patterson utilizzati per datare il *Leiden Fragment* di Properzio confrontandolo con manoscritti della metà del XIII secolo, ovvero: *bulb with collar*, *looped tremor*

[15] Non c'è alcuna relazione tra le tendenze riscontrate nella decorazione e le mani dei copisti: A cc. 1r-8v, B cc. 9r-78v, B cc.79r-82v, C cc. 82r-450r e le sei mani differenti delle cc. 450r e ss.

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line, *cat's paw on hairpin combination* e *barred caterpillar infilling* (cfr. lettere di taglia piccola c. 25r)[16]. Resta quindi aperta la discussione sulla datazione che vede da un lato la Dondi collocare il codice entro i primi decenni del XIII secolo e il Folda verso la seconda metà del medesimo[17].

3. Il contenuto liturgico-musicale

Il codice di Perugia è un messale-graduale con calendario e come tale, oltre alle letture specifiche, tramanda le parti del graduale con notazione musicale quadrata su tetragrammi rossi tipici del tempo (XIII secolo). La sezione del graduale comprende tutte le parti del *proprium missae*. È invece omesso l'*ordinarium missae*, di solito collocato unitamente alle sequenze in un libro a parte.

Uno sguardo sintetico a tutta la liturgia musicale del primo periodo del *proprium de tempore* che va dalla prima domenica dell'Avvento alla quinta domenica dopo l'Epifania non presenta sostanziali differenze con la liturgia romana, ma solo piccole difformità probabilmente dovute all'influsso della liturgia francese dell'area di Amiens e Rouen, i cui vescovi sono ricordati nel calendario[18]. Particolare risulta la definizione che il codice dà della prima messa notturna tra il giorno della Vigilia e quello di Natale (l'odierna "messa di mezzanotte") che viene chiamata *In Galli cantu missa*, in ogni caso non estranea a Roma[19].

Tutte le *feriae* (ovvero il *proprium* dei giorni feriali) tra la terza e la quarta domenica dell'Avvento sono presenti nel codice, che dunque attribuisce grande importanza a questo periodo liturgico.

Si riporta di seguito lo schema dei brani liturgico-musicali del primo periodo del *proprium de tempore* secondo i seguenti parametri: foglio del codice, *incipit* testuale del brano, sua collocazione liturgica e pagina dell'*Index of Gregorian Chant*[20].

[Proprium de tempore]

[Dominica I. Adventus]

9r	Ad te levavi animam ... Deus ... neque	[int]	6
9r	Vias tuas Domine demonstra	[intv]	436
9r	Universi qui te	[gr]	425

[16] S. Patterson, *op. cit.*

[17] C. Dondi, *op. cit.*, p. 75-76, 190-195; J. Folda, *Crociati, Pittura e miniatura*, in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, Roma, 1994, p. 574; Idem, *I manoscritti miniati negli stati crociati*, in *Le crociate, l'Oriente e l'Occidente da Urbano II a San Luigi 1096-1270* (a cura di M. Rey-Delque), Milano, 1997, p. 299-305.

[18] C. Dondi, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[19] F. Cancellieri, *Notizie intorno alla novena vigilia notte e festa di Natale*, Roma, 1788.

[20] *Index of Gregorian Chant*, I: *Alphabetical Index* (a cura di J. R. Bryden e D. G. Hughes), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969.

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9r-9v	Vias tuas	[grv]	436
9v	Alleluia / v. Ostende nobis	[al]	31
10r	Ad te Domine levavi animam … Deus … neque	off.	6
10r	Dominus dabit benignitatem	co.	136

La liturgia della prima domenica comincia direttamente con il proprio della messa e rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU = *Liber usualis*).

Dominica secunda [Adventus]

11v	Populus Syon ecce Dominus	[int]	328
11v	Qui regis Israel [intende]	p. [intv]	348
12r	Ex [S]ion species decoris	r. [gr]	172
12r-12v	Congregate illi sanctos eius	v. [grv]	93
12v	Alleluia / v. Letatus sum	[al]	28
12v	Stantes erant [pedes]	v. [alv]	401
12v-13r	Deus tu convertens vivificabis	off.	117
13r	Jherusalem surge et sta	comm.	240

Rispetto alla tradizione liturgica romana viene aggiunto il versetto alleluiatico *Stantes erant* [*pedes*].

Dominica III Officium [Adventus]

14r	Gaudete in Domino semper	[int]	192
14r	Et pax Dei	p. [intv]	168
14v	Qui sedes super Cherubin	r. [gr]	349
14v	Qui regis Israel	v. [grv]	348
14v	Alleluia / v. Excita Domine potentiam	[al]	24
15r	Benedixisti Domine terram tuam	off.	74
15r	Dicite pusillanimes confortamini	co.	120

Rispetto alla tradizione liturgica romana il versetto dell'introito *Et pax Dei* sostituisce il *Benedixisti terram tuam*.

[In Feriis Adventus]

Tutte le *Feriae* costituiscono una peculiarità liturgica del manoscritto poiché nel LU sono omesse.

Feria IIII Officium

15r-15v	Rorate celi de super	[int]	368

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15v	Celi enarrant gloriam	p. [intv]	77
15v	Tollite portas principes	r. [gr]	416
15v-16r	Qui ascendet in montem	[grv]	352
16r	Prope est Dominus	r. [gr]	335
16r	Laudem Domini loquetur	v. [grv]	262
16v	Ave Maria gracia plena ... benedicta	off.	55
17r	Ecce Virgo concipiet ... Emmanuel	post com. [co]	149

Feria VI

17r	Prope esto Domine	[int]	335
17v	Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam	r. [gr]	318
17v	Benedixisti Domine terram tuam	v. [grv]	74
17v-18r	Deus tu convertens vivificabilis	offerenda	117
18r	Ecce Dominus veniet et omes … et erit	post com. [co]	144

Sabbato

18r	Veni et ostende nobis	[int]	430
18r	Qui regis Israel	p. [intv]	348
18v	A summo celo egressio	r. [gr]	2
18v	Celi ennarant gloriam ei	v. [grv]	77
19r	In sole posuit tabernaculum	r. [gr]	221
19r	A summo celo egressio	v. [grv]	2
19r	Excita domine potenciam tuam	r. [gr]	175
19r-19v	Qui regis Israel intende	v. [grv]	348
19v-20r	Domine Deus virtutum converte	r. [gr]	130
20r	Excita Domine potentiam tuam	v. [grv]	175
20v	Benendictus est Domine Deus … gloriosus	tr. [hy]	[72]
21r	Qui regis Israel intende	tr.	348
21r	Qui sedes super Cherubin	v. [trv]	349
21v	Beniamin et Manasse	v. [trv]	74
21v	Excita Domine potentiam tuam	v. [trv]	175
21v-22r	Exulta satis filia Syon	offerenda	177
22r	Exultavit ut gigas	co.	179

Nella tradizione liturgica romana il graduale *Domine Deus virtutum converte* e relativo versetto *Excita Domine* precedono il graduale *Excita Domine potentiam tuam.*

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Dominica IIII [Adventus]

22r	Memento nostri Domine	[int]	277
22r	Confitemini Domino	p.	-
22v	Prope est Dominus	r. [gr]	335
22v	Laudem Domini loquetur	v. [grv]	262
22v	Alleluia / v. Veni Domine et noli tardare	[al]	38
23r	Confortamini et iam nolite	offerenda	93
23r	Ecce Virgo concipiet … Emmanuel	com.	149

L'introito *Mementus nostri Domine* sostituisce l'analogo *Rorate caeli desuper* della tradizione romana. L'offertorio *Confortamini* sostituisce l'*Ave Maria* della tradizione romana.

In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini

24r	Hodie scietis quia veniet … salvabit	[int]	206
24v	Domini est terra	[intv]	135
24v-25r	Hodie scietis quia veniet … salvabit	r. [gr]	206
25r	Qui regis Israel intende	v. [grv]	348
25r	Alleluia / v. Crastina die delebitur	[al]	21
	In Vigilia Natalis Domini quando in dominica evenerit		
25v	Tollite portas principes	off.	416
25v	Revelabitur gloria Domini	co.	366

La liturgia rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU).

In Galli cantu Missa

25v	Dominus dixit ad me	[int]	136
25v	Quare fremuerunt gentes	p. [intv]	343
26r	Tecum principium in die virtutis	r. [gr]	413
26r	Dixit Dominus Domino meo	v. [grv]	127
26r-26v	Alleluia / Dominus dixit ad me	[al]	23
27r	Letentur celi … ante faciem	off.	258
27r	In splendoribus sanctorum	com.	222

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Nella liturgia romana si chiama *In nativitate Domini ad primam missam in nocte.*

Missa de luce

27r	Lux fulgebit hodie super nos	[int]	268
27r	Dominus regnavit	p. [intv]	138
27v-28r	Benedictus qui venit in nomine	r. [gr]	73
28r	A Domino factum est	v. [grv]	1
28r	Alleluia / v. Dominus regnavit decorem … fortitudinem	[al]	23
28r	Deus enim firmavit	off.	115
28v	Exulta filia Syon	comm.	177

Nella liturgia romana si chiama *In nativitate Domini ad secundam missam in aurora.*

Ad maiorem Missam

28v	Puer natus est nobis	[int]	408
28v	Cantate domino	[intv]	80
29v	Viderunt omnes fines terre	r. [gr]	438
29v	Notum fecit Dominus salutare	v. [grv]	298
29v	Alleluia / v. Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis	[al]	22
30r	Tui sunt celi	off.	423
30v	Viderunt omnes fines terre	co.	438

Nella liturgia romana si chiama *In nativitate Domini ad tertiam missam in die.*

Sancti Stefani Martiris

30v	Etenim sederunt principes	[int]	171
30v	Beati immaculati in via	p. [intv]	60
31r	Sederunt principes	r. [gr]	387
31r	Adiuva me Domine Deus	v. [grv]	9
31r-31v	Alleluia / v. Videos celos apertos	[al]	38
31v	Elegerunt apostoli Stephanum	off.	156
32r	Videos celos apertos	co.	438

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La liturgia rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU).

In Natalis Sanctis Johannis

32r	In medio ecclesie	[int]	218
32r	Jocunditatem et	p.	-
32v	Exiit sermo inter fratres	r. [gr]	176
32v	Sed sic eum volo manere	v. [grv]	387
32v	Alleluia / v. Hic est discipulus ille	[al]	26
33r	Iustus ut palma	off.	248
33r	Exiit sermo inter fratres	co.	176

La liturgia rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU).

Sanctorum Innocentium

33r	Ex ore infantium Deus	[int]	172
33r	Domine dominus noster	p. [intv]	130
33v	Anima nostra sicut	r. [gr]	43
33v	Laqueus contritus est	v. [grv]	259
33v	Laus tibi Christe	-	-
33v-34r	Sub throno dei	v. [re]	404
34r	Anima nostra sicut passer	off.	43
34v	Vox in Rama audita … ploratus	co.	447

I versetti del graduale *Laus tibi Christe* e *Sub trono Dei* sono peculiari del codice. Viene omesso l' *Alleluia* / v. *Laudate pueri* o il *tractus* sostitutivo *Effunderunt sanguinem*.

Dominica infra Octavam [Nativitatis]

34v	Dum medium silentium … iter	[int]	141
34v	Dominus regnavit decorem indutus	p. [intv]	138
35r	Speciosus forma pre filiis	r. [gr]	398
35r	Eructavit cor meum	v. [grv]	161
35r	Alleluia / v. Dominus regnavit decorem … fortitudinem	[al]	23
35v	Deus enim firmavit	off.	115
35v	Tolle puerum et marem	com.	416

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La liturgia rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU).

Missa de Sancta Maria

35v-36r	Vultum tuum deprecabuntur	[int]	447
36r	Eructavit cor meum	p. [intv]	160
36r	Diffusa est gratia in labiis	r. [gr]	121
36r	Propter veritatem	[grv]	336
36r	Alleluia / v. Dominus dixit	[al]	23
36r-36v	Offerentur regi virgines proxime	[off]	13
36v	Simile est regnum celorum homini negociatori	co.	394

Questo *proprium missae* è una peculiarità liturgica del codice.

In octabis Domini

36v	Alleluia / v. Multipharie olim Deus loquens	[al]	30
37r	Tui sunt celi	off.	423

La liturgia rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU).

[In Epiphania Domini]

37v	Ecce advenit dominator Dominus	[int]	143
37v	Deus iudicium tuum	p. [intv]	116
38r	Omnes de sabba venient … laudem	r. [gr]	312
38r	Surge et illuminare Ierusalem	p. [grv]	406
38r	Alleluia / v. Vidimus stellam eius	[al]	38
38v-39r	Reges Tharsis et insule	offerendam	361
39r	Vidimus stellam eius … et venimus	com.	440

La liturgia rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU).

Dominica infra octabam apparitionis

39r	In ecelso trono vidi sedere	[int]	216
39r	Iubilitate Deo omnis terra	p. [intv]	244
39v	Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel	r. [gr]	72

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39v	Suscipiant montes pacem	v. [grv]	408
39v	Alleluia / v. Iubilate Deo omnis terra	[al]	27
40r-40v	Iubilate Deo omnis terra	off.	244
40v	Fili qui[d] fecisti … ego	co.	186

La liturgia rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU).

Dominica prima post octabis Epiphanie

42r	Omnis terra adoret te	[int]	314
42r	Jubilate Deo omnis terra	p. [intv]	244
42v	Misit Dominus verbum suum	r. [gr]	283
42v	Confiteantur Domino misericordie	v. [grv]	90
42v	Alleluia / v. Laudate Deum omnes Angeli	[al]	28
43r	Iubilate Deo universa terra	off.	244
43r-43v	Dicit Dominus implete hydrias aqua	co.	119

La liturgia rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU).

Dominica II post octavam

44r	Adorate Deum omnes Angeli	[int]	10
44r	Dominus regnavit exultet terra	v. [intv]	138
44r	Timebunt gentes nomen tuum	r. [gr]	415
44r-44v	Quaniam edificavit Dominus	v. [grv]	355
44v	Alleluia / v. Dominus regnavit exultet terra	[al]	23
45r	Dextera Domini fecit virtutem	off.	118
45r	Mirabantur omnes de his	co.	279

La liturgia rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU).

Dominica in LXX[a]

47v-48r	Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis	[int]	86
48r	Diligam te Domine	p. [intv]	123
48r	Adiutor in opportunitatibus	r. [gr]	8
48r-48v	Quoniam non in finem	v. [grv]	357
48v	De profundis clamavi ad te	tractus	109

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48v	Fiant aures tue intendentes	v. [trv]	185
48v	Si iniquitates observaveris	v. [trv]	390
48v	Quia apud te propitiatio est	v.[trv]	350
49v	Bonum est confiteri Domino	off.	76
49v	Illumina feciem tuam super servum	co.	210

La liturgia rispecchia la tradizione liturgica romana (LU).

Per quanto riguarda l'analisi dei brani musicali, è stata effettuata la trascrizione delle parti con musica della prima domenica dell'Avvento sovrapposte a quelle del *Liber usualis* che rispecchia la tradizione romana di Solesmes. Sono i brani del *proprium*, cioè: l'introito *Ad te levavi*, il graduale *Universi qui te*, l'alleluia *Ostende nobis Domine*, l'offertorio *Ad te Domine levavi* e il *communio Dominus dabit benignitatem*.

Il confronto ha permesso di ravvisare una sostanziale identità con la tradizione romana, cioè con il complesso di melodie la cui codificazione è stata attribuita a Gregorio Magno ed ha avuto la più grande diffusione nella liturgia occidentale. Nonostante questo sono presenti alcune varianti che per le loro caratteristiche non possono essere inscritte nella tradizione cistercense né in quella domenicana: esse infatti sono di modesta entità e non paragonabili alla estrema semplificazione ed ai grossolani tagli riscontrabili nelle versioni musicali cistercensi e domenicane[21]. Nel Medioevo l'apprendimento a memoria delle melodie destinate ad accompagnare la liturgia impegnava gli ecclesiastici per circa 10 anni. Si capisce quindi come anche la modifica più piccola potesse mettere in difficoltà gli esecutori e come ogni Ordine difendesse la propria tradizione.

Nell'introito *Ad te levavi* l'aspetto più evidente della versione di Perugia rispetto al *Liber usualis* è l'omissione del Sol in corrispondenza della prima parola *Ad*, che nel manoscritto di Perugia è intonata sulla sola nota Re anziché su due, Sol e Re. Si ha pertanto una semplificazione della melodia romana e un'intonazione diretta della nota iniziale che risulta priva della preparazione costituita dalla nota alla quarta superiore. In corrispondenza, poi, della parola *in* di *in te confido*, nel manoscritto di Perugia c'è la nota La raggiunta con un salto discendente di quarta dalla precedente nota Re. Nel *Liber usualis*, invece, si ha la nota Fa raggiunta con un salto discendente di sesta dalla precedente nota Re. Anche in questo caso, dunque, abbiamo nella fonte perugina un intervallo meno ampio e quindi più facile da intonare rispetto alla versione romana.

Nella stessa direzione vanno anche le altre differenze. Nel graduale il *versus Vias tuas* è chiuso cinque note prima della tradizione romana. Nell'Alleluia il *versus Ostende Nobis* è abbreviato nel vocalizzo finale, riutilizzando in conclusione le ultime sei note dell'Alleluia.

[21] G. Ciliberti, *Rigore e spiritualità nella "riforma musicale" di S. Bernardo di Chiaravalle*, "Benedictina" 39 (1992), p. 199-213.

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Ad te levavi

Introito

Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 6, f. 9r

Ad te le - va-vi a - ni - mam me - am De-us me - us in te con-

Liber Usualis, pp. 318-319

Ad te le - va-vi a - ni - mam me - am De-us me - us in te con-

fi - do non e - ru - be - scam ne - que ir-ri - de - ant

fi - do non e - ru - be - scam ne-que ir-ri - de - ant

me i-mi-mi - ci me - i et e - nim u-ni-ver - si qui te

me i-mi-mi - ci me - i et - e - nim u-ni-ver - si qui te exs -

V. [abbreviato]

exs-pe- ctant non con-fun - dem - tur Vi-as tu - as Do-mi-ne [de...]

Ps.

pe - ctant non con-fun - dem - tur. - Vi-as tu - as Do-mi-ne de -

[...as e - do - ce me.]

- mon - stra mih - i et se - mi-tas tu - as e - do - ce me.

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Universi qui te

Graduale

Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 6, ff. 9r-9v

U- ni-ver - - - - - si qui te ex - pec - tant

Liber Usualis, p. 320

Cantores *Chorus*

U - ni-ver - - - - - - si qui te exs - pec - tant

non con - fun - den - tur Do-mi - ne.

non con - fun - den - tur Do-mi - ne.

Vi - as tu - as Do - mi - ne

V. *Cantores*

Vi - as tu - as Do - mi - ne

no - tas fac mi - - -

no - tas fac mi - - -

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Alleluia / Ostende nobis Domine

Alleluia

Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 6, f. 9v

Liber Usualis, pp. 320-321

Cantores — *Chorus*

Al - le - - - lu - ia. Al - le - lu - ia.

- lu - ia.

Os-ten - de no - bis Do - - - - mi - ne mi-se-ri - cor - di-am tu-

V. *Cantores*

Os-ten - de no - bis Do - - - - mi - ne mi-se-ri - cor - di-am tu-

- - - - - - am et sa-lu-ta - re tu - - - - - -

- - - - - - am et sa-lu-ta - re tu - - - - - -

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Ad te Domine levavi

Offertorio

Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 6, f. 10r

Ad te Do-mi - - - ne le - va - vi a - - -

Liber Usualis, pp. 321-322

Cantores *Chorus*

Ad te Do-mi - - - ne le - va - vi a - - -

- - ni - mam me - am De - us me - us in te con - fi - do

- - ni - mam me - am De-us me - - us in te con - fi - do

non e - ru - bes - cam ne - que ir - ri - de - ant me i - ni-

non e - ru - bes - cam ne - que ir - ri-de - - - ant me i - ni-

mi - ci me - - - i et e - nim u - ni-ver - si qui te ex-

mi - ci me - - - i et - e - nim u - ni-ver - si qui te exs -

pe - ctant non con fun - - - - den - - - tur.

pe - ctant non con - fun - - - - den - - - tur.

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Dominus dabit benignitatem

Communio

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Truces and Negotiations between Bayezid II and Matthias Corvinus in the Context of the Hunyadi-Habsburg Conflict (1482-1484)

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Keywords: *Matthias Corvinus*; *Bayezid II*; *Frederick III of Habsburg*; *medieval diplomacy*; *Ottoman Empire*

The date and the validity of the first major diplomatic arrangement between Matthias Corvinus and Bayezid II, intimately connected with the problem of the Ottoman conquest of the Moldavian harbors at the end of July 1484[1] has turned into a lasting object of controversy[2], in particular among Romanian scholars. The treaty was viewed as instrumental in depriving Stephen III of Moldavia from military aid from his Hungarian suzerain and thus sealing the fate of the disputed harbors. Hungarian historians have dealt less with the matter and usually accepted the traditional dating of the arrangement to 1483, a dating that was imposed already in the 1890s[3]. This scientific interest was triggered namely by Matthias' attitude during and after the sultan's campaign, by his (later) protest(s) addressed to Bayezid who would have violated the arrangement between these monarchs. These matters (in particular the

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[1] The Ottoman conquests of the Moldavian harbors were repeatedly and most often intentionally misdated since 1484. The accurate dates were established on scientific bases only in recent years (see the data and the analysis of Ovidiu Cristea, *Acest domn de la miazănoapte. Ştefan cel Mare în documente ine-dite veneţiene*, Bucharest, 2004, p. 110-114; Al. Simon, *Între porturi şi cer. Chilia, Cetatea Albă, Istanbul şi Veneţia în vara anului 1484*, "Acta Musei Napocensis" 39-40 (2002-2003 [2005]), 2, p. 229-271.

[2] The debate was summed up (in two different manners nonetheless) by Naghi Pienaru, *Confruntare şi diplomaţie la Dunăre. Tratatele de pace otomano-un-gare încheiate de Bayezid II şi Matia Corvin*, "Revista Istorică", new series, 14 (2003), 3-4, p. 178-183; Mihai Maxim, *Stephen the Great and the Sublime Porte: New Turkish Documents*, "Transylvanian Review" 14 (2005), 1, p. 17-20.

[3] E.g. Vimos Fraknói's monograph (*Mathias Corvinus. König von Ungarn (1458-1490)*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1891, p. 218-224), or the studies of Ferenc Szakály (*Phases of Turko-Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohács. 1365-1526*, "Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae" 33 (1979), p. 90-91), Gyula Rázsó (*Die Türkenpolitik Matthias Corvinus*, "Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae" 32 (1986), 1-2, p. 45-46) or György Házai (*A Topukapu Szeráj Múzeum levéltárának Magyar vonatkozású török iratai*, "Levéltári Közlemények" 26 (1955), 11, p. 294, note 47 (*Topukapu*); *Eine Urkunde zur Geschichte des ungarisch-türkischen Grenzgebietes*, "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes" 76 (1986), p. 125-133).

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protests) have led some scholars, namely Romanians, to presume deliberate foul play on behalf of King Matthias[4].

The recently discovered sources as well as the older ones contradict such an assumption[5]. In return, they stress out King Matthias' domestic weakness and his main faults: overstretching his powers and promising support and aid which the king knew he could deliver only with great difficulty (like during Mehmed II's Moldavian campaign of 1476)[6]. Nonetheless, the question of the (written) foundation, on which King Matthias' protests after the fall of the harbors relied, remains open. The issue at hand moves well beyond the limits drawn by the diplomatic proposals, versions and talks of 1483-1484. A different explanation for King Matthias Corvinus' protest(s) of August-September 1484 is therefore also possible. The explanation is motivated by two interconnected aspects.

1. Questions of Diplomatic Documents and Practices

On one hand, the lack of clear major sources regarding the exact content of the drafted Ottoman-Hungarian treaty and stages of negotiations, and the confusions and debates enclosing the existing sources is compelling. For instance, the preserved copy of (a draft of) an Ottoman-Hungarian treaty from Matthias Corvinus' and Bayezid II's reigns (the draft was dated by Gyula Hazai to 1488, whereas Mihai Maxim opted for 1484), indicates the names of Moldavia and Walachia as lands under Buda's protection

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[4] E.g. Eugen Denize, *Stephen the Great and his Reign*, Bucharest, 2004, p. 114-115 (following in the pre-1918 footsteps of Vasile Pârvan and Nicolae Iorga who emphasized king Matthias' 'treasonable behavior' towards the Romanians).

[5] See our *Chilia şi Cetatea Albă în vara anului 1484. Noi documente din arhivele italiene*, "Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie" 26 (2008), p. 177-196; *Hungary's South-Eastern Border Area in the Power Relations between Matthias Corvinus and Bayezid II*, in *A Century in the History of Transylvania: Late Crusades, Humanism, Church Union and Social Mobility at the End of the Middle Ages (1387-1490)* (= *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, new series, II, 1) (ed. by Ioan Drăgan, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Tudor Sălăgean, Al Simon), Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 115-144; *The Ottoman-Hungarian Crisis of 1484: Diplomacy and Warfare in Matthias Corvinus' Local and Regional Politics*, in *Matthias and his Legacy. Cultural and Political Encounters between East and West* (ed. by Attila Bárány and Attila Györkös), Debrecen, 2009, p. 401-436. The main documents in this respect come from the Archivio di Stato di Milano, Milan (ASM), Archivio Ducale Sforzesco/Archivio Visconteo Sforzesco (A.D.S.), Potenze estere, Napoli, cart. 244, *1482-1484*, nn (9th of July 1484); Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice (ASVe), Senato Secreti (S.S.), *Deliberazioni*, reg. 32, 1484-1485, c. 92r (16th of November 1484). They add to the documents in ASVe, *Dispacci Constantinopoli* (S.D.C.), F[ilza].1A, *1484-1567*, *Dis-pacci al Senato del Segretario Giovanni Dario. 1484. 31 maggio-28 febbrario mv* [1485], and *Dispacci al Senato di Pietro Bembo Bailo. 1483. 16 gennaio mv-1484. 9 febbraio mv* [*1485*], ed. by Giuseppe Calo (*22 Dispacci da Constantinopoli al doge Giovanni Mocenigo* (Venice, 1992) and O. Cristea, *Campania din 1484 în lumina unor noi mărturii veneţiene* [hereafter, *Campania*], in *Ştefan cel Mare şi Sfânt: Atlet al credinţei creştine* (ed. by Ştefan Sorin Gorovei, Maria-Magdalena Székely), Putna, 2004, p. 187-274.

[6] In this respect, we recall, with prudence nonetheless, due to the ideological background of the book, Lajos Elekes', *A középkori magyar állam története megalapításától Mohácsi bukásáig*, Budapest, 1964, p. 258-259.

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(too) were (eventually) eliminated[7]. At any rate, regardless of dating, it must be noted that Ottoman reluctance towards such an inclusion of Moldavia and Walachia in a treaty between Istanbul and Buda was and remained great until the *general* [7 year]-*peace* of Buda, in 1503[8].

The abovementioned (draft of an) Ottoman-Hungarian treaty can be dated (equally successful) to 1484 and 1488, or to 1486. Namely Italian sources confirm that a two year truce was concluded, respectively renewed between Matthias and Bayezid II in each of these years[9]. Apparently, the two year interval became defining for Ottoman-Hungarian diplomatic settlements after the arrangement of February-March 1468[10].

On the other hand, the amount of contradictory sources and interpretations regarding Ottoman-Hungarian arrangements prior to 1481 calls for prudence, as well as for new researches[11]. Such documentary and scholarly uncertainties and doubts had an impact also on the dating of Moldavian-Ottoman peace attempts prior to 1486 (another controversial aspect), opening up new perspectives. The basis however remains the same[12].

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[7] *Topukapu*, no. 11, p. 295, note 47; M. Maxim, *Stephen the Great*, p. 21-22.

[8] Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest [hereafter, MOL], (Q section) Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL), [no.] 39328 (4th of November 1503; the unedited Latin version of the Ottoman confirmation of the peace); Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Urkundenabteilung, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe, *1503* (20th of August 1503; the Hungarian version of the treaty, often edited, for instance, in Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, II-1, *1451-1550* (ed. by Nicolae Densuşianu), Bucharest, 1890, no. 24, p. 23-24 [hereafter, *Hurmuzaki*].

[9] For an overview: Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Cancelleria Ducale, *Ungheria*, [reg.] II-3, f. 27r (23rd of September 1488); copy: MOL, Filmtár (F.T.), *Nehring Karl gyűjtése* (*Nehring*), rol. 30174 <unnumbered frames>; the copy can also be found in Direcţia Judeţeană a Arhivelor Naţionale-Cluj, [hereafter, DJAN-Cluj], *Documente medievale din Regatul Ungariei*, rol. XVI); Iván Nagy, Albert B. Nyáry, *Magyar diplomacziai emlékek. Mátyás király korából 1458-1490* (= *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, IV, 1-4), II, [*1466-1480*], Budapest, 1890, no. 90, p. 121-123; no. 232, p. 375-376; no. 238, p. 384; nos. 275-276, p. 435-437 [hereafter, MDE]; *Acta vitam Beatricis reginae Hungariae illustrantia. Aragóniai Beatrix magyar királyné éltetére vonatkozó okiratok* (= *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, I, 39), ed. by Albert [von] Berzeviczy, Budapest, 1914, no. 61, p. 99 (in particular).

[10] In this respect, for the 1460s and 1470s, see the sources (again, namely of Italian origin) in Al. Simon, *Between Empires: Matthias Corvinus' Politics in the 1470s*, in *A Century in the History of East-Central Europe: From the Political Hegemony of the Anjous to the Dynastic Supremacy of the Jagiellonians (Late 1300s-Early 1500s)* (= *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, new series, II, 2, ed. by Iulian Mihai Damian, I.-A. Pop, T. Sălăgean, Al. Simon), Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 149-191; Idem, Brancho's *Son and the Walachians: A Milanese Perspective on the Battle of Baia (I)*, "Historical Yearbook" 6 (2009), p. 87-100; (II) in print.

[11] The main sources and interpretations are provided by Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Korvin Mathias (Mátyás)ın Bayezid II.e mektupları ve 1503 (909) osmanlı – macar muahedesinin türkçe metni. La traduction des lettres de Korvin Mathias á Bayezid II et le texte turc du traité Hungaro-Ottoman de 1503 (909)*, "Belleten" 22 (1958), 87, p. 369-390; Mihai Guboglu, *Fâtih'in Ştefan çel Mare üzerine iki Boğdan seferi (1474-1476)*, "Belleten" 47 (1983), 186, p. 138-194; Sándor Papp, *Stephen the Great, Matthias Corvinus and the Ottoman Empire*, in *Between Worlds*, I: *Stephen the Great, Matthias Corvinus and their Time* (= *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, new series, I, 1, ed. by László Koszta, Ovidiu Mureşan, Al. Simon), Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 107-122.

[12] Aurel Decei, *Tratatul de pace* -sulhnâme- *încheiat între sultanul Mehmed al II-lea şi Ştefan cel Mare la 1479*, "Revista Istorică Română" 15 (1945), 4, p. 465-494. The document in question,

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In any case, one Venetian observation made in reference to the events of 1484-1485 should be recalled here. *One peace leads to the other* [*luna cossa si tira laltra*]; that is: a peace/a truce between Buda and Istanbul leads to a peace/truce between Suceava and Istanbul and viceversa[13]. This interdependence proved vital on late medieval diplomatic soil.

II. The Two Imperial Fronts of the Crusading Crown of Hungary

Depending namely on the manner in which, based on the data at hand, we date the time when a negotiated and confirmed Ottoman-Hungarian truce became operational (the same problem comes up in relation to the Habsburg-Ottoman truces of the late 1490s[14]), in spring or fall 1482, a truce was probably concluded between King Matthias Corvinus and Sultan Bayezid II. Already in February, King Matthias had been accused of hindering anti-Ottoman warfare[15]. In spite of his his apparent Ottoman arrangement, he was still considered by Pope Sixtus IV the best solution for the crusade, and, prior to December 12[16], he was promised 200.000 ducats if he was to fight the Porte (in comparison, as well as a reference for the age, it should be noted that in November, the same year, the crusade was being preached in Poland, allegedly very

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dated be-tween late 1479 and early 1481, was re-edited also in *Documente turcești privind istoria României*, I: *1417-1774* (ed. by Mustafa Ali Mehmet), Bucharest, 1976, no. 3, p. 3-4. For Ottoman-Moldavian relations in the early 1480s: M. A. Mehmet, *Un document turc concernant le kharatch de la Moldavie et de la Valachie aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, "Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes" 5 (1967), 1-2, p. 265-274.

[13] Giovanni Dario's words from his report were edited in *22 dispacci*, no. 41, p. 28. In this respect, see in particular O. Cristea's comments in *Campania*, p. 214-215; *Matthias Corvin et l'éxpedition de Baiezid II contre la Moldavie (1484)*, "Revue Roumaine d'Histoire" 42 (2003 [2005)], 1-4, p. 81-88.

[14] For instance: Franz Babinger, *Zwei diplomatische Zwischenspiele in Deu-tsch-Osmanischen Staatsverkehr unter Bâyezîd II. (1497 und 1504)*, in Idem, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, I (Munich, 1962), p. 254-269; Johann Gröblacher, *König Maximilians I. erste Gesandschaft zum Sultan Bâyezid II.*, in *Festschrift für Hermann Wiesflecker* (ed. by Alexander Novotny and Othmar Pickl), Graz, 1973, p. 73-83; Al. Simon, *The Dying Crusade: The Hungarian Royal Elections of 1490 as Moldavian Prequel to the Polish 'Crusade' of 1497*, in *Worlds in Change. Church Union and Crusading in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (= *Transylvanian Review*, XVIII, suppl. 2; *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, new series, IV, 1), ed. by Christian Gastgeber, I.-A. Pop, Oliver Jens Schmitt, Al. Simon, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 391-410.

[15] The matter comes up both in southern and in northern sources: MDE, III [*1481-1488*], Budapest, 1877, nos. 8-10, p. 20-23; *Politische Korrespondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter des Königs Matthias Corvinus* (= *Scriptores Rerum Silesicarum*, XIII-XIV) (ed. by Berthold Kronthal, Heinrich Wendt), II: *1480-1490*, Breslau, 1894, no. 370, p. 48; Marino Sanudo Il Giovanne, *Le vite dei dogi (1474-1494)* [I-II] (ed. by Angela Caracciolo Aricò), Padua, 1989-2001, p. 234, 422.

[16] Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City [hereafter, ASV], Miscellanea, Armadi/Varia Politica (Misc., Arm.), [reg.] II-56, ff. 207^v-209^v [late 1482; edited in Edgár Artner, *Magyarország mint a Nyugati Keresztény művelődés védőbástyája: a Vatikáni Levéltárnak azon okiratai, melyek őseinknek a Keletről Európát fenyegető ve-szedelmek ellen kifejtett erőfeszítéseire vonatkoznak (cca. 1214-1606)* (ed. by Szovág Kornél), Budapest, 2004, no. 110, p. 130-131 (*Magyarország*); data gathered in the 1930s and 1940s; Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venice, *Manoscritti*, Mss. 364, f. 9^r-15^r (12th of December 1482).

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successful, although Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg had just accused in front of Sixtus IV not only Matthias, but also Casimir IV of having a truce with Bayezid II[17]).

It is more likely that the Ottoman-Hungarian truce in question was concluded in late 1482, for in September, Paul (Pál, Pavel) Kinizsi (Chinezul), count of Timiş (Temes) and captain of the Lower Parts of Hungary, was still campaigning against the Ottomans[18]. The truce was part of larger Ottoman diplomatic offensive, determined by the successful flight to Rhodes of Djem, Bayezid II's brother and main rival[19]. It also stands in direct connection (whether as a consequence or as precondition) with the Ottoman raid on Moldavia which nearly proved fatal for Stephen III of Moldavia in the summer of 1482 (in July most likely)[20]. At any rate, King Matthias Corvinus apparently did not view the truce concluded with Sultan Bayezid II as a fully satisfactory solution to his Ottoman concerns (which proved to be a mistake in 1484[21]) and focused increasingly on Djem[22].

According to the evidence at hand[23], confirmed by recently discovered sources[24], no real functional truce was formally 'sealed' until the winter of 1484-1485.

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[17] ASV, Misc. Arm., II-56, ff. 70^{v}-76^{v} [mid-fall 1482; ed. in *Magyaror-ság*, no. 111, p. 131-132]; Augustin Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*, II, *Ab Ioanne PP. XXIII usque ad Pium PP.V. 1410-1572*, Rome, 1861, nos. 239-240, p. 219-220.

[18] V. Fraknói, *Mátyás király levelei. Külügyi Osztály*, II: *1480-1490*, Budapest, 1895, no. 131, p. 232-233 (Kinizsi's fa-ther-in-law, Balázs Magyar, had led the first attacks); no. 133, p. 234-235 [hereafter, MKL].

[19] For an overview, see the analysis by Nicolas Vatin, *Une tentative manquée d'ouverture diplomatique: la lettre de créance d'un envoyé de Bajazet II auprês de Louis XI (1483)*, in *L'Empire Ottoman, la République de Turquie et la France* (ed. by Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Hatim Batu), Istanbul-Paris, 1986, p. 1-13; and namely his inventory, *Itinéraires d'agents de la Porte en Italie (1483-1495): Réflexions sur l'organisation des missions ottomanes et sur la transcription turque des noms de lieux italiens*, "Turcica. Revue d'études tur-ques: peuples, langues, culture, états" 19 (1987), p. 29-50 (here p. 31-33).

[20] Masarykovy Universitni knihovny, Brno, Mk 9, *mikulovsky rukopis*, f. 276^{r}-277^{r} (two letters of Matthias Corvinus to Stephen III of Moldavia, the first one dated to the 20th of August 1482, while the other has no date, but belongs to the same time span; copies: MOL, FT, *Nehring*, rols. 30173-30174, nn; DJAN-Cluj, *Documente medievale din Regatul Ungariei*, rols. XV-XVI, nn [the last two and the first two frames on the two rolls, 30173 and 30174, respectively XV and XVI]). On the basis of their undated copies preserved in Budapest, the letters were repeatedly misedited, usually under 1475 (e.g. MKL, I, *1458-1479*, Budapest, 1893, nos. 220-221, p. 313-314; for the correctly dated edition of the most relevant passages: Al. Simon, Cristian Luca, *Documentary Perspectives on Matthias Corvinus and Stephen the Great*, "Transylvanian Review" 17 (2008), 3, p. 95-96.

[21] In this respect, see also Pienaru, *Confruntare şi diplomaţie*, p. 179-180.

[22] Dezső Csánki, *Oklevelek a Hunyadiak korából (II)*, Történelmi Tár, Budapest, XV (1902), 2, no. 38, p. 356; [Bernardino Zambotti], *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 fino al 1504* (= *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new series, XXIV, 7) (ed. by Giuseppe Pardi), Bologna, 1937, p. 137-138; Louis Thuasne, *Djem Sultan, fils de Mohammed II, frère de Bayezid II (1459-1495) d'après les documents originaux en grand partie inédites. Étude sur la question d'Orient à la fin du XVe siècle*, Paris, 1892, p. 102-103. The course of events had been anticipated by Pierre d'Aubusson, the grand-master of the Knights of St. John, in his letter to emperor Frederick III, written three days after Djem had arrived on Rhodes (HHStA, Reichshofkanzlei, *Fridericiana*, [Karton] 5, *1481-1483*, fasc. 5-3, *1482*, f. 75^{r}; 3rd of August 1482).

[23] These contemporary sources, especially of Venetian or Ragusan origin, were quoted or edited in Cristea's *Campania*, or in Simon, *Între porturi şi cer*.

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Furthermore, even in early 1485 it was doubted that Matthias would respect this truce[25]. Such southern doubts are highly eloquent.

The Ottoman-Hungarian negotiations of late fall 1483 – late spring 1484[26] had been acknowledged by Matthias too, unlike most of his previous discussions with the sultan(s) (such as those of 1482, completely passed under silence in April 1483, when, with good cause[27], he accused Venice and Frederick of conspiring with the *Turks* against him, he who would not give up fighting the *Turks*[28]). These negotiations of 1483-1484 had however led only to the conclusion of a preliminary (most likely) treaty (if not only to the drafting of one) between Matthias and Bayezid II. This form of settlement became was rendered invalid in the second half of 1484, following the events triggered by the sultan's crossing of the Danube (it should be added that in the fall of 1483 a violent cash between Hungarian and Ottoman troops apparently took place[29]). Otherwise, if the Ottoman-Hungarian treaty had been valid, sultan Bayezid II would hardly have sent to Buda (prior to the end of 1484[30]) an envoy (or more) with another peace offer (an offer this time accepted by Matthias Corvinus).

III. The Royal Chancery in Matthias Corvinus' Ottoman Politics

Under the circumstances, given Matthias' protest(s) and Bayezid II's answer of (probably) late August-early September 1484[31], it seems rather likely that the king's claim that the sultan had broken the Ottoman-Hungarian arrangement referred to the arrangement of 1482 and not that of 1484, which in fact/apparently did not legally exist. This possibility however does not settle the matter of what happened

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[24] In this case, see namely the reports edited in our *Chilia şi Cetatea Albă*.

[25] Nicolae Iorga, *Studii şi documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, XVI, Bucharest, 1909, no. 17, p. 123 (Stephen III had recently re-attacked the Ottoman strongholds).

[26] The king's letters are in MKL, II, no. 162, p. 273-275; no. 164, p. 286.

[27] For Venice's attempts to secure a truce between Bayezid II and Frederick III: ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 31, *1482-1483* [MV 1483-1484], c. 10^{v}, 45^{v} (10th of April, 22nd of July 1483). The attempts were hindered by Bayezid's need to first reach an arrangement with Matthias, viewed as the main threat to his Otto-man power, due to also to the fact that Djem had already turned towards Matthias.

[28] Matthias' anti-Venetian and anti-Habsburg charges can be found in HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Ausserdeutsche Staaten, *Hungarica* (*Ungarische Akten*), *Al-lgemeine Akten*, I, [Karton] 1 (I-1), 1, *1423-1525*, fasc. 1-1 (A), *1463 Juli-1490 Mai*, f. 116^{r} (26th of April 1483; abstracted by K. Nehring, *Quellen zur ungarischen Aus-senpolitik in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts (I)*, "Levéltári Közlémenyek" 47 (1976), no. 166, p. 113; MOL, DL 38886 (11th of April 1483).

[29] For the sources, see N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle*, V: *1476-1500*, Bucharest, 1915, no. 131, p. 133; MKL, II, no. 156, p. 267-270; *Korrespondenz der Stadt Breslau*, II, no. 395, p. 71.

[30] The case of the report from Ragusa (31st of December 1484), in ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Illiria, Polonia, Russia, Slavonia*, cart. 640, fasc. 4 (the report was edited and analyzed in Simon, *Chilia and Cetatea Albă*, p. 188-189).

[31] Edited and redited since the 1700s (e.g. [Imre Kelcz], *Epistolae Matthiae Corvini Regis Hungariae ad pontifices, imperatores, reges, principes, aliosque vi-ros illustres*, (Kosice, 1743), pars I, nos. 4-5, p. 3-4), based on undated copies, the only ones known so far (e.g. the edition in *Hurmuzaki*, II-1, nos. 18-19, p. 15-16).

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with the Hungarian version of the treaty: was it 'stolen' from the chancery by Vuk (a Serbian member of the royal chancery and a successful Ottoman spy)[32] or was the Hungarian chancellor, Peter (Péter) Váradi (Várdai), archbishop of Kalocsa, bribed or negligent[33], omitting a clause which would have protected the 'Moldavian harbors' (when confronted by Bayezid II with the Ottoman version of the arrangement following the king's protests, Matthias could not produce a Hungarian version of the settlement to contradict the provisions of the Ottoman version). Nevertheless, the hypothesis that the fall of the chancellor was largely due also to his opposition to Matthias' domestic policies should thus receive more credit[34].

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[32] For Vuk (based on a source from 1487, edited in *Topukapu*, no. 10, p. 295), see Tahsin Gemil, *Un izvor referitor la moartea lui Dimitrie Jaakšič, solul lui Ma-tia Corvin la Bayezid II*, "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie *A. D. Xenopol*" 22[2] (1985), p. 597-604. The matter was last discussed by Ivan Biliarsky, *Une page des relations magyaro-ottomanes vers la fin du XVe siècle*, "Turcica. Re-vue d'études turques: peuples, langues, culture, états" 32 (2000), p. 291-305. It is not impossible (quite the contrary) that Vuk and Váradi stood in close connections, at least in administrative terms, given Váradi's southern involvement (see the following note) and his office which placed him in control of the royal chancery.

[33] In this respect, see also Al. Simon, *Ştefan cel Mare şi Matia Corvin. O co-existenţă medievală*, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 531-532. For the very complex figure of the archbishop (who had led Matthias' negotiations with the Ottoman adversaries of Bayezid II and also had instrumented Matthias' plan to assassinate the sultan at the end of 1483; ASV, Misc., Arm., f. II-56, f. 346 (347)^{v}; 356 (357)^{v}-357 (358)^{r}); 24th-28th of October 1483; the reports sent from Buda to Sixtus IV by the papal legate, Bartolomeo Maraschi, bishop of Castelli), see also the older works of V. Fraknói, *Váradi Péter*, in Idem, *Egyháznagyok a magyar középkorból*, Budapest, 1916, p. 106-171; Rabán Gerézdi, *Egy Magyar Humanista: Váradi Péter (I-II)*, "Különlenyomat a Magyar-ságtudomány" 1 (1943), 3, p. 305-328; 4, p. 527-564. The constant efforts made by Sixtus IV' successor, Innocent VIII, to secure the release of the archbishop from his royal captivity, at a time when the new pope had just launched another crusade against the Ottomans following Bayezid II's Moldavian triumph, (e.g. [Odorico Rinaldo], *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi desinit Cardinalis Baronibus auctore Odorico Raynaldo accedunt*, XIX, Cologne, 1693, *1484*, nos. 64-68, p. 345^{b}-346^{a}; no. 71, p. 346^{b}; *1485*, nos. 3-5, p. 349^{b}-350^{a}) make the matter of the archbishop's involvement even more problematic. On one hand, it would seem doubtful that, had Váradi been the main responsible for Matthias' diplomatic disaster, the pope, anxious to promote (for Italian purposes) anti-Ottoman warfare and to improve the relations between Rome and Buda, would have kept pressuring Matthias to release and restore to office his former chancellor (for Váradi's later career, after Matthias' death, when he largely regained his former powers: *Petri de Warda epistolae cum nonnullis Wladislai II. regis Hunga-riae litteris Petri causa scriptis* (ed. by Carol Wagner), Bratislava-Kosice, 1776. On the other hand, Váradi had sufficient 'dubious' ties and Matthias enough regional and domestic concerns (which allowed Innocent VIII to increase his pressures).

[34] This interpretation was developed by L. Elekes in his *Mátyás Király és kora*, Budapest 1958, p. 177-179, 181-183. The opinion was (prudently nevertheless) shared by the late András Kubinyi (*Matthias Rex*, Budapest, 2008, p. 130-131, 179-180; based on a comparison to the case of John Vitéz, the first Hungarian prelate and politician to be beaten and then deatined by the king), whose ideological and historical background was very different from that of Elekes. It is very possible that Matthias' used the opportunity presented by the sultan's response and made his move against Váradi, apparently one of the leading figures of the Hungarian opposition to Matthias policies (at the same time, it should be stressed out that this opposition, which varied in names and numbers throughout Matthias' reign, had very good Ottoman connections that best came to light during the rebellion of 1467; in this respect, see also our Brancho's *son and the Walachians (I-II)*, with further contemporary references). Váradi was also closely connected to the Újlaki family (who played an

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At the same time however, it should be added, that Matthias would not have issued a protest without seeing the document on which the protest was based or, more likely (as he was not in Buda at that time, but on campaign in Austria against Frederick III[35]), without being assured that he had documentary grounds for his protest. Therefore, in this respect, a few aspects should nevertheless be further stressed out. Matthias could not have relied in his protest on an arrangement which he had previously not officially approved[36]. In return, in 1482, he had apparently not placed great value (nor cared much, one could add) on his treaty with Bayezid, which however, had not eliminated hostile actions on both sides of the borders, even if their impact was not comparable to that of a full-scale war)[37].

For instance, if we are to completely trust the Venetian reports from Istanbul, from October 1484 nonetheless[38], Matthias' envoys had hurried to Bayezid in order to conclude a treaty, after the sultan had left against Stephen. It is certain however that Matthias did dispatch envoys to Bayezid when the latter neared the Lower Danube line[39]. Furthermore and at any rate, it is quite beyond any doubt that, between mid 1482 and mid 1484, *the mighty king* Matthias constantly underestimated the *weak sultan* Bayezid.

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important part in the 'release' of the archbishop in 1490), whose Ottoman connections were surpassed (eventually) on Hungarian soil only by those of the Szapolyai family (for a retrospective overview of these matters see also our *Valahii şi Dieta de la Rákos (1505). Consideraţii asupra sfârşitului epocii huniade*, "Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis" 43 (2006), p. 99-121). At the time of the Ottoman attack on Moldavia, the Újlakis, who had their power base in Slavonia (i.e. Matthias' south-western flank), were causing much unrest and threatening the king's power (see here the sources quoted in the following note).

[35] In this respect, as well as for Matthias' immense domestic problems (prior and after the conquest of the Moldavian harbors) to secure a rapid and effective military Hungarian intervention against the Ottomans who had entered Moldavia: Esztergomi Székesfőkáptalan Magánlevéltára (Prímási Levéltára), Esztergom, Acta radicalia, 27-2-15 (copy: MOL, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (DF), [no.] 236551); MOL, DL 102629 (in *Documenta quibus Hungariae, Valachiae et Moldaviae relationes melius illustrantur* (ed. by Marius Diaconescu, Géza Érszegi), "Mediaevalia Transsilvanica" 2 (1998), no. 6, p. 287-288); Státny Okresný Archiv Bardejove, Bardejove (Bártfa), Archiv Mesta Bardejove/Bártfa Város Levéltára, Középkori gyűjtémeny, no. 2350 (DF 215104); Státny Oblastný Archiv Levoča, Levoča (Lewocza, Leutschau, Lőcse), [Section] L. Rody i panstavá, I. Rody (L-I), Andráši (z Krásnej Hôrky) Archív/Andrássy család levéltára, [Section]: Mohács előtti oklevelek, [no.] 17-59 (copy: MOL, DF 265307); D. Csánki, *Oklevelek*, no. 48, p. 362.

[36] The way in which he conducted his western policy (largely shaped by conflict with his main nemesis that was not the sultan, but the emperor) is eloquent in this case (see namely the synthesis of V. Fraknói, K. Nehring and A. Kubinyi).

[37] See our *The Contested Sultan* in reference namely to the events of 1486.

[38] *Dispacci*, no. 28a, p. 124 (Hungarian-Venetian relations kept deteriorating).

[39] *Campania*, no. 7, p. 233 (Matthias did not wish to leave the Austrian front).

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Icelandic Demographic Documents from the Turn of the 17th Century

Gunnar Marel Hinriksson

Keywords: *demography*; *Iceland*; *taxes*; *17th century*

In 1943 Nobel laureate Halldór Laxness wrote:

> "*Eina stofnun gætum við íslendíngar rekið með meiri árángri en flestar aðrar þjóðir, til að efla þekkíngu vora á sjálfum okkur í fortíð og nútíð, en það er mannfræðistofnun, «skrifstofa» sem hefði með höndum skrásetníngu allra íslendinga sem heimildir eru um, dauðra og lifandi.*"[1]
>
> [One institution could we Icelanders run with more success than most other nations, to enrich our knowledge of our selves in past and present, and that is an anthropological institution, a "bureau" which would catalogue every Icelander on whom sources can be found, dead and alive.]

This idea has its roots in two unrelated phenomena. Firstly, the registration of the people living in Iceland began very early. It has even been claimed that the census of 1703 is the earliest example of a census covering an entire nation to be found worldwide[2]. This first census was followed by others in the 18th and through the 20th century, although the tradition has died out in modern Iceland. Secondly, Icelanders have for many generations been avid practitioners of genealogy. This appetite for knowing one's ancestors generates an interest for research in and accessibility to old documents containing demographic information. The latest genealogical innovation is the online database *Íslendingabók*, the book of Icelanders[3]. It can be argued that the Íslendingabók satisfies Laxness's idea of a bureau cataloguing every Icelander, for its database compiles data listing "every Icelander on whom sources can be found, dead and alive." It is of course not in any way perfect or complete, but it allows for a quick reference to check relations and ancestry online. The Íslendingabók does of course not substitute further research and publication of demographic documents.

In the National Archives of Iceland there are to be found numerous records

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[1] Halldór Laxness, *Mannlíf á spjaldskrá*, in *Sjálfsagðir hlutir* (2nd ed.), Reykjavík, 1962, p. 155.

[2] In the period Icelanders were subject to the throne of Denmark, so it is debateable if Icelanders can be regarded as a nation at the time. Cf. Eiríkur G. Guðmundsson & Björk Ingimundardóttir, *Inngangur*, in *Manntalið 1703 þrjú hundruð ára*, p. 9-30 (9).

[3] http://www.islendingabok.is. It is unfortunately only available in Icelandic.

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describing the demography of the country in the period ca. 1680 to 1712, thereby providing us with the possibility of mapping out a quite exact picture of daily life at the turn of the 17th century.

These documents all stem from the efforts of the Danish government to register the inhabitants of this remote island in the fiscal interest of taxation in mind (Iceland being under Danish rule at the time), and all have historical connections between them. These are the war tax records of 1681, the land register of 1702-1712, the population census of 1703 and the livestock register of 1703.

In this article I shall give an account of these documents, describe their provenience and the information they contain with examples of the content, in the original Icelandic with English translations.

The war tax records of 1681

Following a series of wars with Sweden during the course of the 17th century and as a consequence loss of significant territories, Denmark was faced with great financial difficulties. Therefore, during and after the war over Scania (Skåne) 1675-1679 Christian V collected a series of war taxes in Denmark, the first in 1676, again in 1677 and then half the amount with an order from the king dated January 15th 1678 and again October 28th the same year. The tax was last collected 1679[4].

The king did not turn his eye to his land in the north until 1679. In an open letter to Icelanders dated May 31st that year he elaborates on the great cost of waging a war, it being feeding and clothing his soldiers, transporting and training them, but he then especially notes the cost of maintaining the Royal navy. The navy, he says, protects the trading routes between Denmark and Iceland to the mutual benefit of Icelanders and the navy, because it ensures import to Iceland, and the stockfish (dried fish), salted meat and wool exported from the island feeds and clothes the sailors. King Christian then points out that until now his loyal subjects in Iceland have been untroubled with extraordinary taxes unlike his subjects nearer to home, despite the Icelanders determination to show their "Velvillighed, Troskab og Iver til Voris Tjeneste" (good-will, loyalty and eagerness to Our service) as he says. He then stresses that the tax should, if possible, be paid with stockfish, but money or other goods (for example fish-oil, wool, butter or meat) where fish is not abundant. The sheriffs of each county were to collect the tax and transport it to the merchants of the Danish monopoly trade, no later than in fall 1680[5]. The sheriffs were to make a report on the collected taxes and, after it being verified by the taxpayers, two copies were to be made, one for the Danish *landfógeti* (next-in-command of the governor) Johann Klein and the other sent with the merchants to Copenhagen. Governor Klein

[4] Jacob Henric Schou, *Chronologisk Register over de kongelige Forordninger og aabne Breve*, I, Copenhagen, 1795, p. 128-129, 131, 135 and 139.

[5] Transactions between Denmark and Iceland were only possible twice a year, in the spring the merchant ships came from Denmark and embarked in the fall.

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was to sum up the tax-records and report on the income[6]. Kleins records are most likely those that survive today in the National Archives of Iceland, along with his calculations. The tax-records for about three fourths of Iceland have evaded the teeth of time, along with Kleins calculations which cover the whole country[7]. Still, the summary is inconclusive, as the tax was not collected to the satisfaction of the Danish authorities as shall be discussed below.

The king's letter of 1679 was answered in the National assembly (*Alþingi*) the following year with a letter dated July 7th. In it the necessity to pay was acknowledged but because of harsh weather, poverty and general hardship of the people the king was asked to ease his demands. King Christian answered the next year with a letter dated April 17th in which he shows pity on his subjects and reduces the proposed tax by half[8]. The tax collection took place in the summer of 1681 and at the same time the priests in the diocese of Skálholt, under direction from bishop Þórður Þorláksson, discreetly assembled a sum of money, a honorarium, to be given to Johann Klein for his support in having the taxation lightened[9].

But the story of the war tax does not end there. Debate over unpaid portions of the tax between the Danish and Icelandic officials took place in the National assembly almost every year from 1682 through 1692. The reason for the argument is most likely manifold. The obvious reason is of course that some people tried to evade the tax, which very likely was the case in some instances. But before we leave it at that, the method the Danish *Rentekammer* (government department responsible for affairs of finance and the interior) used for calculating the expected sum must be observed. The taxation was based on old land registers in the Rentekammer, so that the tax could be calculated by each farm, rented or owned and rented or owned cattle in these farms, as described in the old land register. The possession of farms, their size and value changes over time so it is certain that the older land register was, at least to some extent, outdated by the time the tax was collected. Based on this it is no wonder that the King deemed it feasible to commission a new and improved land register for later taxation. This newer land register is discussed below[10].

The total amount collected of the Icelanders is uncertain, as the documents are not clear on this point as has been mentioned. It can be roughly estimated at around 6.500 *rigsdaler*, or thaler. This is a very modest sum, compared for example with the just under 30.000 thaler collected in Ribe-county, one of the 44 counties at that time in Denmark, through the 1676 war tax[11].

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[6] The letter is printed in *Lovsamling for Island*, I (ed. by Oddgeir Stephensen and Jón Sigurðsson), Copenhagen, 1853, p. 370-372.

[7] National Archives of Iceland, Rentukammer 2,1. Stríðshjálpin 1681.

[8] *Acta Comitiorum Generalium Islandiæ. Alþingisbækur Íslands*, VII (ed. by Einar Arnórsson), Reykjavík, 1944-1948, p. 484-486 and *Lovsamling for Island*, I, p. 380-381.

[9] Gunnar Marel Hinriksson, *Um aukaskattheimtu konungs af hans landi Íslandi*. Unpublished BA-thesis in history from the University of Iceland, 2007, p. 33-34. National Archives of Iceland, Bps. A IV 2. *Bréfabók Þórðar Þorlákssonar 1680-1683*, p. 101r-101v.

[10] G. M. Hinriksson, *op. cit.*, p. 40-47. *Alþingisbækur Íslands*, VII, p. 586-588; VIII, p. 45-46, 88-89, 126-129, 143, 157-159, 211-212, 280-281 and 380.

[11] Danish State Archives, *Rentekammeret. Skatkammeret. Generalbogholderiet. 1676*,

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The *jarðabók* or land register of 1702-1714, the *manntal* or census and *kvikfjártal* or livestock register of 1703

In the years 1702-1714 a register was made describing the properties of every farm in Iceland, under a commission led by professor Árni Magnússon and sheriff Páll Vídalín. Magnússon (1663-1730) was an Icelander who settled in Copenhagen to study at the university in 1683. Professor Thomas Bartholin hired him shortly thereafter as an translator and scribe and in 1697 he was appointed archivist in the king's service and professor at the university in 1701[12]. Vídalín (1667-1727) became a theologian from the University of Copenhagen in 1688 and served as headmaster of the Latin school of the diocese of Skálholt 1690-1696. In 1697 he was appointed sheriff of Dalasýsla county and later that same year vice 'Lawman' of Southern and Eastern Iceland, or head of the judiciary in the area. The Lawmen were two, one in Southern and Eastern Iceland and the other in the north and west. In 1706 the post of Lawman of south and east was fully appointed to him[13].

The commission led by Magnússon and Vídalín was the result of a plea of help (supplicate) by the inhabitants of Iceland to Frederick IV the king of Denmark because of the lasting famine and cold winters of the previous years. The king gave Magnússon and Vídalín instructions in thirty points regarding their investigation of the country's poor conditions. The first point addressed the need of registration of farms, the land register:

> "*Som de hidindtil paa Voris Rente Cammer værende og dennem til deris Effterretning nu tilstillede Jordebøger icke udj saaden een Rigtighed sig befinder, sem det sig velburde; Saa shall nu af dennem een general fuldkommen Jordebog ofver gandshe Landet* [...] *vorde indrettet* [...]."[14]
>
> [As the land registers that now are to be found in Our Rentekammer [government department responsible for affairs of finance and the interior] and are to assist you with your investigation are not as correct as they should be, you must compile a complete land register over the entire land.]

These instructions from the king can be divided into two groups: Firstly Magnússon and Vídalín were to conduct an exhaustive investigation on the

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Originalmandater ang. krigsstyren. G. M. Hinriksson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[12] Jón Helgason, *Magnússon, Árni*, in *Dansk biografisk leksikon* (3rd ed.), 9, Copenhagen, 1981, p. 363-365. A biography in Icelandic: Már Jónsson, *Árni Magnússon. Ævisaga*, Reykjavík, 1998. A short biography in English: Hans Bekker-Nielsen & Ole Widding, *Arne Magnusson. The manuscript collector* (transl. by Robert W. Mattila), Odense, 1972.

[13] Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenskar æviskrár*, IV, Reykjavík, 1951, p. 145-146.

[14] *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns*, 13: *Appendices*, Reykjavík, 1990, p. 3.

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economical situation, the land register and the census and livestock register that will be dealt with below are part of that, and secondly they should consider everything that could be improved on the island, and make recommendations to make it so[15].

But how did the king know that his registers over Iceland were not up to date? The only recent endeavor on his part that relied on these documents was the collection of the 1681 war tax, as has been discussed above, resulting in a decade of debate over wether it had been fully paid, based on an outdated land register. So it can be claimed that the premise for making the land register was the experience of the 1681 war tax[16].

In a letter to landowners in Iceland read in the Alþingi (National assembly and court, the aforementioned Lawmen were the highest Icelandic officials besides the Danish governor in the Alþingi) on the 19th of June 1702 Magnússon and Vídalín laid out the instructions for registering the farms. The following excerpt illustrates the rules laid out for compiling the register, and it also gives a glimpse into how Magnússon's experience with archival work influenced his orders.

> "[...] *á meðal annarra erinda, sem hæðstnefnd kóngleg majestat okkur allranáðugast befalað hefur hér í landi að útrétta, er að samantaka eina rigtuga og fullkomna jarðabók yfir allt landið, hvar fyrir og í þeirri kónglegu instruction, sem okkur allranáðugast gefin er, jarðeigendunum er befalað okkur að láta til handa koma rigtugar og af þeim undirskrifaðar jarðabækur yfir þeirra eignir, so vel sem þau eignarskjöl, er þeir fyrir sérhvörri jörðu hafa. Því tilsegist hér með öllum og sérhvörjum jarðeigendum hér á landi, andlegum og veraldlegum, upp að teikna allar sínar jarðir með þeirra dýrleika, landskuld og kúgildum, item hjáleigur og búðir, þar sem þær eru* [...] *Þessu jarðaregistri skulu fylgja vottaðar, rétt og læsilega skrifaðar útskriftir af öllum eignarskjölum, er eignarmennirnir fyrir þessum jörðum, einnri eður fleirum, hafa, og skulu sömu eignarskjöl, þar sem fleiri en eitt hjá einum manni eru, sérhvört sér í lagi skrifast, en ei öll til samans, upp á það þau þess hæglegar síðan niðurskipast og í vissar classes leggjast kunni.*"[17]
>
> [...] among other business, which his majesty the king of his grace has bestowed upon us to carry out in this land, is to compile a correct and complete register of the whole land, whereby and in the royal instruction, which gracefully has been given to us, the landowners are ordered to hand to us correct and by them signed registers listing their possessions, as well as the documents of ownership, that they have for each farm. Thereby are all landowners in this land, both of the church and secular, are required to describe their farms with land value, land rent and rented cattle, item cottages rented out, where such are [...]

[15] M. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
[16] G. M. Hinriksson, *Ætt manntalsins 1703*, "Fréttabréf Ættfræðifélagsins", 2 (2008), p. 8-13.
[17] *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns*, p. 11.

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> This land register must be supplemented with testified, correct and legibly written copies of all documents of ownership, which the landowners, possessing one farm ore more, have, and these documents, where there are more than one, each be separately transcribed, but not all together, so that they can be ordered and classified with more ease.

The project was thus clearly outlined before it begun. Still it took Magnússon and Vídalín over ten years to conduct their business because of various difficulties, or, in Magnússon's own words written on August 30th 1703: "*mand kan icke i hast beskrive alle de uleiligheder, som udi dette land møde en, der skal reise om kring at forrette noget.*"[18] Still, the commission finished the census and livestock registers both in the year 1703. It is no wonder that these enterprises were noted by the people of Iceland, as can be read in the Annal of Grímsstaðir for the year 1703:

> "[...] *Kölluðu þennan vetur sumir Manntalsvetur. Þá var uppskrifað, eptir auglýstri befalningu þeirra commisario allt mannfólk* [...] *Í annan máta, að landeigendur allir og ábúendur skyldu gera skýrt registur allra sinna jarða [...] Í þriðja lagi um fardagaleytið var uppskrifað allt kvikfé [...] Þá var pappír dýr í sveitum víða, er öllu þessu var aflokið.*"[19]
>
> [This winter was by some called the Winter of the Census. Then were registered, by the advertised order of the commissaries, all people [...] Secondly, that all landowners and farmers should make a register of all their farms [...] Thirdly around the quarter day all livestock was registered [...] Paper had become expensive in many places when all this was finished.]

After being sent to the Rentekammer the land register, census and livestock register documents lay effectively unheeded for almost 200 years. They were never translated to Danish as had been planned so they were of little use to the Danish officials. And in 1728 was the great fire in Copenhagen, destroying many private libraries and collections of manuscripts, among them many of Magnússon's Icelandic manuscripts, and a part of the land register documents, i.e. those describing the eastern part of Iceland.

In 1918 Iceland had become independent of Denmark, but nevertheless still part of the Danish monarchy. A republic was founded in Iceland in 1944. The independence movement laid heavy emphasis on reclaiming Icelandic documents and manuscripts residing in Danish archives. The Danish State Archives, Rigsarkivet, returned to the National Archives of Iceland in 1928 around 830 satchels containing documents regarding Icelandic matters, ranging in age from the 16th century up until the mid 19th. Included in these were the war tax documents, land

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[18] "It is not possible to describe in a few words all the inconveniences one meets if one intends to travel around this country and get anything done.", cited in M. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[19] *Annales Islandici Posteriorum Sæculorum. Annálar 1400-1800*, III, Reykjavík, 1937, p. 522-532.

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register, census papers and livestock register[20]. The Arnamagnæan Institute (founded to uphold Árni Magnússon's manuscript collection, which he inherited to the University of Copenhagen) delivered around 700 documents and four manuscripts, and both the Royal Library and the University Library in Copenhagen delivered collections of documents[21].

Of the documents dealt with in this article the land register and census have been published in their entirety. The land register was published in eleven volumes in the years 1913-1943 under the title *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns* by *Hið íslenzka fræðafélag í Kaupmannahöfn* (the Icelandic scholarly society in Copenhagen). This publication was reproduced in a facsimile edition in 1980-1990, supplemented with two volumes, a thematic register and an edited volume of related documents. The census of 1703 was published by the Statistical Bureau of Iceland in 1924-1947 under the title *Manntal á Íslandi árið 1703 tekið að tilhlutan Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns*. In 1960 the Statistical Bureau published a supplement to the census, containing statistical information extracted from the census and a brief introduction, with summaries in English and Esperanto. It was titled simply *Manntalið 1703*, or the *Population Census 1703*. The 1681 war tax records are not yet published, apart from the county of *Gullbringusýsla*. The livestock register is also unpublished, apart from two *hreppar* (districts), Seltjarnarneshreppur (In which the capital of Iceland today, Reykjavík, can be found) and *Stokkseyrarhreppur* (which lies along the southern coastline, about mid-way between the rivers *Ölfusá* and *Þjórsá*)[22].

Contents of the documents, the story of Brynjólfur Hannesson

The narrow timeframe of these demographic documents makes it possible to extract miniature biographies from them, as shall be demonstrated below. The subject I have chosen, more or less arbitrarily, is Brynjólfur Hannesson, *lögréttumaður*, or a member of the National assembly[23].

On July 30th 1681 five *hreppar*, or districts, in the southern part of Árnessýsla County held a meeting to conduct the collection of the war tax. Among

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[20] Sigfús Haukur Andrésson, *Þjóðskjalasafn Íslands. Ágrip af sögu þess og yfirlit um heimildarsöfn þar* (2nd ed.), Reykjavík, 1982, p. 39.

[21] Sigrún Davíðsdóttir, *Håndskriftsagens Saga – i politisk belysning* (transl. by Kim Lembek), Odense, 1999, p. 29. Further reading and extensive bibliographies on the "manuscript debate" can be found in Davíðsdóttir's book, and in: Guðmundur Hálfdanarson, *Denmark and Iceland: a tale of tolerant Rule*, in *Tolerance and Intolerance in Historical Perspective* (ed. by Csaba Lévai and Vasile Vese), Pisa, 2003, p. 189-201.

[22] The war tax record of *Gullbringusýsla* and the livestock register of Seltjarnarneshreppur are published in: G. M. Hinriksson, *Kópavogur í Seltjarnarneshreppi 1681-1729*, in *Ársrit Héraðsskjalasafns Kópavogs 2006-2007* (2008), p. 273-320. The livestock register of *Stokkseyrarhreppur* is published in: Idem, *Kvikfjártalið 1703 í Árnessýslu*, "Árnesingur" 7 (2006), p. 147-182.

[23] Incidentally, Brynjólfur is my great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandfather, as I found out when I looked him up in *Íslendingabók*.

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them was Stokkseyrarhreppur, the district of *Stokkseyri*, a rural community, as all communities were at that time in Iceland, where we find among others Brynjólfur Hanneson, farmer of *Skipar*. The archaic Icelandic spelling has been preserved, as the documents have not yet been published[24].

> "*Skypar*
> *Briniolfur Hanneßon l(and)sh(ulld) 1* hndr. *20 al(nir).*
> *L(eigu)k(úgilldi) 3. H(an)s 2. Bet(alar) ½ sliettan Dal. Lofar*
> *syslum(anni) 2½ f(iskum). Bet(alar) i Sm(jöri)* og *sochum 19 fi(ska).*"
>
> [*Skipar*
> *Brynjólfur Hannesson land rent 1 hundred 20 ells.*
> *Rented cows 3. His own 2. Pays ½ thaler. Promises*
> *the sheriff 2½ fishes. Pays in butter and socks 19 fishes.*]

The census of Stokkseyrarhreppur was signed May 22nd 1703 by Brynjólfur himself and 10 other farmers. Brynjólfur has moved since 1681, he now resides with his family in the farm adjacent to Skipar, Baugstaðir. Brynjólfur was nicknamed *the strong*[25]. As we can see, he and his wife Vigdís Árnadóttir had seven children alive 1703, perhaps that is why he got the nickname. From the census we also learn that in 1681 when he was a farmer in Skipar Brynjólfur must have been 27 years old, and born in 1654. The total population of Iceland according to the census was just over 50.000 people. The Icelandic version of the census text is omitted because of its statistical nature[26].

Baugstaðir:

Brynjólfur Hannesson	49 years old
Vigdís Árnadóttir his wife	44 y.o.
Kristín Brynjólfsdóttir their child	17 y.o.
Valgerður Brynjólfsdóttir their child	16 y.o.
Gísli Brynjólfsson their child	13 y.o.
Sesselja Brynjólfsdóttir their child	9 y.o.
Bjarni Brynjólfsson their child	8 y.o.
Steinunn Brynjólfsdóttir their child	6 y.o.
Margrjet Brynjólfsdóttir their child	2 y.o.
Kolbeinn Jónsson worker	34 y.o.
Guðrún Jónsdóttir worker	38 y.o.
Freygerður Hannesdóttir[27]	60 y.o.

[24] National Archives of Iceland, Rentukammer 2,1. Stríðshjálpin 1681. Árnessýsla, p. 143.
[25] Guðni Jónsson, *Saga Hraunhverfis á Eyrarbakka*, Reykjavík, 1958, p. 234.
[26] *Manntal á Íslandi 1703 tekið að tilhlutan Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns*, Reykjavík, 1924-1947, p. 515.
[27] She was Brynjólfur's sister, and described thus in the census: "*Niðursetningur, burðalítil nú orðin.*" That is to say, she could not work and was supported by the community.

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Now we know how many people lived in Baugstaðir in early summer 1703, but what about the livestock? June 19th 1703 Brynjólfur and 9 others signed the livestock register for Stokkseyrarhreppur[28].

> "*Baugstaðir, Brynjólfur Hannesson lögréttumaður.*
> *Fríður peningur: kýr 10, tvævetrar kvígur 2, ungkálfar 2. Ær 19, gamlir sauðir 2, þrevetrir sauðir 4, veturgamlir sauðir 17. Hestur 1, folar tvævetrir 2, foli veturgamall 1, hross 2, annað afgamalt. Hér af takast leigukúgildi 4, sem er kýr 4.*
> *Skuldir Brynjólfs: til íslenskra landskuld 1½ hundrað, hestlán, dagsláttur 15 álnir, enn skuldir með vinnumannskaupi 2 hundruð 19 álnir, til danskra 40 fiskar.*"
>
> [Baugstaðir, Brynjólfur Hannesson, member of the National assembly.
> Livestock: Cows 10, two-year old heifers 2, young calfs 2. Ewes 19, old wethers 2, three-year old wethers 4, one-winter old wethers 17. Horse 1, two-year old colts 2, yearling 1, mares 2, one very old. Off this must be taken 4 rented cow-values, which are 4 cows.
> Brynjólfur's debts: To Icelanders land rent 1½ hundred, horse loan, a days worth of haymaking 15 ells, still debts with the worker's pay 2 hundreds 19 ells, to the Danes 40 fishes.][29]

The land register document describing Stokkseyrarhreppur was signed on August 22nd 1708. In it, we find that Brynjólfur still lives in Baugstaðir and a detailed account of his surroundings is given[30].

Baugstader.	Baugstaðir.
Jarðardýrleiki óviss, því jörðin tíundast öngvum. Hjer er að tala um jarðareyrir slíkt sem áður segir um Hóla.	Land value uncertain, because the tithe is not paid. Of the welfare can be said the same as is before said of the farm Hólar[31].
Eigandi biskupsstóllinn Skálholt.	Owner is the diocese of Skálholt.
Ábúandinn lögrjettumaðurinn Brynjólfur Hannesson.	Leaseholder is Brynjólfur Hannesson, member of the National assembly.
Landskuld 1½ hndr. inn til næstliðinna fardaga, nú 1 hndr. Betalst í landaurum heima á jörðunni, og færir ábúandi síðan í Hróarsholtsrjett.	Land rent 1½ hundred until the next quarter-day[32], now 1 hundred. To be paid in goods home on the farm, and the leaseholder then donates to the corral in Hróarsholt.
Leigukúgildi iiii inn til næstu fardaga; nú iii. Leigur betalast í smjöri á Eyrarbakka.	Rented cows 4 until the next quarter-day, now 3. Rents paid in butter to

[28] G. M. Hinriksson, *Kvikfjártalið 1703 í Árnessýslu*, p. 173.
[29] All legal trade in Iceland at the time was handled by the Danish monopoly.
[30] *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns*, II: *Árnessýsla*, p. 42-44.
[31] The farms owned by the Church did not pay tithe, but instead paid 12 fishes for every farm valued for 1 hundred or more to support poor inhabitants.
[32] Near the end of May.

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Kvaðir ut supra á Hólum.
Kvikfje ix kýr, i kvíga veturgömul, i naut veturgamalt, ii kálfar, xxi ær mylkar, iii geldar, xiiii sauðir tvævetrir og eldri, x veturgamlir, xx lömb óvís, v hestar, i únghryssa.

Fóðrast kann vi kýr, xx ær, hitt alt sem meira er fóðrast á tilfengnum heyjum, og segist ábúandi þau tilfá, stundum Gaulverjabæ, stundum Hæringsstöðum, stundum Holti, stundum Traðarholti, stundum Tóftum.

Afrjettur ut supra.
Torfrista og stúnga mjög so þrotin, að í 2 ár segist ábúandi hafa tilkeypt heytorf frá Hólum.
Þángtekja brúkast til eldiviðar og þó meiri partur af peningataði.
Silúngsveiðivon má ekki telja af smámurtum í stöðuvatni.

Eggversvon af æðarfugli í vatnshólma þeim, sem jörðin á til helminga móts við Skipa, og lukkast misjafnt, alltíð að nokkru gagni.
Dúntekja af þessum hólma er og oftast að

Eyrarbakki[33].
Duties are the same as in the farm Hólar[34].
Livestock is 9 cows, 1 heifer one winter old, 1 bull one winter old, 2 calfs, 21 ewes that give milk, 4 ewes that do not, 14 wethers two winters old and older, 10 wethers one winter old, 20 lambs uncertain[35], 5 horses, 1 young mare.
6 cows, 20 ewes can be foddered, all the other animals must be foddered on bought hay, and the leaseholder says he obtains them sometimes from Gaulverjabær, sometimes from Hæringsstaðir, sometimes from Holt, sometimes from Traðarholt, sometimes from Tóftir.
Highland pasture as above[36].
Turf supply so drained, that the leaseholder says he has bought turf from Hólar the past two years.
Seaweed can be used for fire, but manure is more used.
Hope of catching trout in a nearby lake is hardly to be counted on, as there are only small fishes there.
Eggs of the common eider[37] can be found in the small island the farm shares with the farm Skipar, with varied results, always of some use.

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[33] Marketplace and port where the Danish run monopoly trade had an outpost.
[34] Lending of a man to row in the fishing season from Þorlákshöfn, a horse loaned, or 10 ells paid, a man lent for a day in the haymaking season, or five ells paid, both to be paid with the land rent. The duties were collected by the landowner, the church of Skálholt.
[35] As this was written in august, the lambs were in the highland pasture far from the farm, and thus it was uncertain if any of them had been killed.
[36] It was, and still is, customary for farmers in the rural districts of Iceland to drive their sheep to the higland in the summer. In the case of Stokkseyrarhreppur the pasture is the so called Flóamannaafréttur accessible through the county of Gnúpverjahreppur.
[37] *Somateria mollissima.*
[38] 1 eyrir (pl. aurar) was equal to 6 ells
[39] Skálholt, the owner of the farm.
[40] *Rhodymenia palmate.*
[41] *Chondrus crispus.*
[42] *Cyclopterus lumpus.*
[43] Described thus at Hólar: "Pastures are not sufficient in winter, because ice swells over most of the land. It is dangerous both for men and livestock to cross the streams surrounding the farmland, and I remember them to have caused loss of both people and sheep. Roads must be built with great effort, if the pastures are to be used in summer or winter."
[44] A cottage dependent on Baugstaðir.

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nokkru gagni, oftast 5 aura verð í hvors hluta.
Selveiðivon hefur að fornu að góðu gagni verið, en í næstu 4 ár ekki lukkast.

Rekavon í meðallagi við þessa sveit að reikna, hefur ábúandi það af reka, sem stóllinn leyfir til húsabótar mönnum.
Sölvafjara bjargleg heimamönnum, og so stundum, að ábúandi selur öðrum sjer til gagns, til hundraðs eður meira. Í ár er þar á misvöxtur, so nú gagnar ekki.

Fjörugrös eru til, en brúkast ei, því mönnum þykir lítt æt, nema húngur gángi að.
Hrokkelsatekju má ekki til gagns telja.
Sölvatekja í takmörkuðum reit af Skipalandi brúkast frá Baugstöðum, en Skipamenn þar í mót beita Baugstaðaland.

Hvert þessi skifti sjeu að skyldu eður eftir samníngi leiguliða vita menn [ekki]. Það er víst, þau skifti hafa haldist í vinsemi yfir 4 ár eða lengur.
Tún og engjar spillast árlega af sandfjúki að ofan og austan, en sjáfargángi að framan.
Vetrarhagar sem segir um Hóla.

Ekki er kvikfje óhætt fyrir sjáfarflæðum.
Vatnsból erfitt um vetur fyrir fannlögum síðan sandfjúk eyddi vatnsbóli því, sem hjer var áður til peníganautnar á vetur.

Baugstaða hiáleiga, bygð fyrst nær 30 árum, þar sem aldrei hafði fyrri bygð verið, en hefur í auðn verið næstu 7 ár.

Landskuld var ekki hærri en xx álnir þa menn vita, ætla þó nokkru meiri fyrr verið hafa. Galdst í landaurum til heimabónda.

Kúgildi var 1, og guldust leigur í smjöri til heimabónda.

Eider down can be harvested on the small island, normally worth 30 ells[38] for each farm.
Seal has been hunted in earlier times with good results, but without success the last four years.
Driftwood is average for these parts, the leaseholder obtains that which the diocese[39] allows to mend the houses.
Foraging for dulse[40] is of use for the people, and so good sometimes, that the leaseholder sells to others to his use, for one hundred or more. This year the harvest has failed, so that it is of no use.
Carrageen moss[41] can be found, but is not used, because the people find it barely edible, unless famine is at hand.
Fishing for lumpsucker[42] is of no use.
Dulse can be foraged in a specified spot belonging to the farm Skipar by the people of Baugstaðir, in return the people of Skipar may let their livestock graze in the fields of Baugstaðir.
Weather this trade is by duty or contract between the leaseholders is not known. It is certain, that the trade has been upheld in friendship for four years or more.
The fields and pastures are damaged each year by sand blown from north and east, and the sea from the south.
Winter pastures are as is described in Hólar[43].
The sea poses a threat to the livestock.
Obtaining water can be hard in the winter because of snow since sand destroyed the water-hole that the livestock used to use during winter.
Baugstaðahjáleiga[44], first built close to 30 years ago, where there had not been any settlement before, but it has been abandoned the last seven years.
Land rent was not higher than 20 ells but is thought to have been higher when the cottage was new. It was paid in goods to the leaseholder of Baugstaðir proper.
One rented cow came with the farm, and was paid for in butter to the leaseholder of

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Þetta býli er nú eytt fyrir sandi ogsjáfargángi, og örvænt aftur að byggja.

Baugstaðir proper.
This farm is now abandoned because of sand and the turbulent sea, and it is hopeless that it will be restored.

Fornu Baugstaðir heitir hjer í landinu þar sem enn nú sjást girðingaleifar, so segja munnmæli þar hafi til forna jörðin Baugstaðir verið, og fyrir sjáfarháska þaðan færð þángað sem nú stendur bærinn. Er þetta pláts jarðarinnar átölulaus eign, en alls ómögulegt aftur að byggja.

Ancient Baugstaðir is the ruin called where there can still be seen rests of fences, old sayings suggest that in earlier times the farm of Baugstaðir was situated there, and because of the aggression of the sea the farm was moved to where it is now. This part of the land is an unaccounted possession, but impossible to repopulate.

NB. Það er kvörtun ábúandans á Baugstöðum, að hann af austanfólki, sem sækir til Eyrarbakkakaupstaðar, líði óþolanlegan ágang á högum sínum, sem árlega fari í vöxt, síðan menn lögði í venju að taka sér hjer áfangastað, sem hann segir innan 30 ára fyrst hafa brúkast og aukist síðan.

Nota bene. The leaseholder of Baugstaðir complains that he suffers unbearable traffic from people of the East traveling to the merchants in Eyrarbakki, and this increases every year, since they began to use his pastures as a resting place, which he claims to have begun less than 30 years ago and increases every year since.

Conclusion

Brynjólfur Hannesson and his family were in the upper strata of Icelandic society. Poorer farming families leased small corners of larger farms and supported their families with a few sheep, one or two cows and perhaps one horse. But many people did not have families of their own, a prerequisite to marriage was access to land, owned or leased. Thus, workmen and women in farms were not able to start families of their own if they could not manage to get hold of a bit of land and a little livestock, but land was not readily available unless after outbreaks of disease or famine. The window these documents open for us now in later centuries is one I find fascinating. The manifold possibilities for statistical calculations, the opportunity to follow the lives of every inhabitant, regardless of status, and the genealogical implications all allow interesting questions to be asked and answered and a very complete picture of daily live of the just over fifty thousand people living on this island in the north around the year 1700 to be drawn.

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Berichte über die Visitationsreisen des Provinzials der Dominikanerprovinz *Hungaria* Hyacinth Dauderlau von 1776/77 und 1778/79

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Keywords: *Dominican Order; Austria; Hungary; Hyacinth Dauderlau; 18th century*

Seit jeher begaben sich Menschen aus verschiedensten Gründen auf Reisen. Es waren religiöse, wissenschaftliche, wirtschaftliche, militärische Motive, Dienstpflicht sowie Wunsch nach Erholung, was die Menschen veranlasste, ihre Heimat zu verlassen und in die Fremde zu gehen. Erfahrungen, Beobachtungen und erworbene Kenntnisse wurden von den Reisenden oft aufgezeichnet, sei es nur wegen einer persönlichen Erinnerung oder in der Absicht, anderen Reisenden notwendige Informationen zu liefern. Reiseberichte stellen aus mehreren Gründen bedeutende schriftliche Quellen dar: Sie informieren über Ortschaften, die die Reisenden besuchten, über Objekte, die sie sahen, und Menschen, die sie trafen. Sehr viel kann man selbstverständlich vom Autor eines Reiseberichts selbst erfahren, von seinem Interessenshorizont[1].

Für höhere kirchliche Amtsträger waren verpflichtende Visitationen der ihnen untergeordneten Gebiete und Institutionen einer der Anlässe für das Reisen. Sie hatten sich von der Einhaltung der Ordnung, über die ihnen sonst in gewissen Zeitabständen von untergeordneten Instanzen berichtet werden sollte, auch vor Ort zu überzeugen, um eventuell vorgefundene Missstände beseitigen zu können. In der Gesetzgebung des Ordens der Predigerbrüder (Dominikaner) wurden genaue Vorschriften in Bezug auf Visitationen sowohl des gesamten Ordens als auch der einzelnen Ordensprovinzen seit der frühesten Zeit verankert und im Laufe der Zeit immer wieder bekräftigt und ergänzt[2]. Der Ordensmeister und die Provinziale waren verpflichtet, Visitationen persönlich oder durch Stellvertreter durchzuführen. Gingen die Oberen ihrer Pflicht wirklich persönlich nach, bedeutete es für sie, dass sie einen beachtlichen Teil ihrer Amtszeit unterwegs waren. Natürlich begegneten sie auf Reisen nicht nur Mitgliedern des eigenen Ordens, sondern sie besuchten auch

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[1] Alfred Stefan Weiss, *Reiseberichte – der Blick auf Mittelstädte*, in *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.-18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch* (hg. von Josef Pauser, Martin Scheutz, Thomas Winkelbauer), Wien-München, 2004, S. 741-752 (741f). Im Anschluss an den Aufsatz ist ein Literaturüberblick zur Quellengattung "Reiseberichte" zu finden. Zu diesem Thema vgl. auch *Itineraria Posoniensia. Zborník z medzinárodnej konferencie Cestopisy v novoveku, ktorá sa konala v dňoch 3.-5. novembra 2003 v Bratislave. Akten der Tagung Reisebeschreibungen in der Neuzeit, Bratislava, 3.-5. November 2003* (hg. von Eva Frimmová, Elisabeth Klecker), Bratislava, 2005.

[2] Einen Überblick über die betreffenden Anordnungen findet man bei Cajetan Lo-Cicero, *Constitutiones, Declarationes et Ordinationes Capitulorum Generalium Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, Rom, 1862, S. 492-497.

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bedeutende geistliche und weltliche Personen, die in einem Naheverhältnis zum Orden standen, sowie andere Ordensgemeinschaften. Die Visitationen boten eine ausgezeichnete Möglichkeit, soziale Kontakte zu knüpfen und diese zu vertiefen. Für die Visitatoren war eine solche "Dienstreise" eine sehr gute Gelegenheit, bekannte Orte und Sehenswürdigkeiten zu besuchen. Für Konvente, die visitiert wurden, bedeutete eine Visitation, je nach Zeitdauer und nach den Ansprüchen der Visitatoren, eine zusätzliche finanzielle Belastung. Wahrscheinlich führte diese Tatsache zu häufigen Beschwerden, denn Generalkapitel ermahnten in dieser Hinsicht mehrmals zur Bescheidenheit[3].

Im Archiv des Wiener Dominikanerkonventes sind zwei Reiseberichte aus den Visitationsreisen des Provinzials der Dominikanerprovinz *Hungaria* Hyacinth Dauderlau überliefert, die als *Itinerarium regularis visitationis per integram provinciam anno 1776* und *Itinerarium 2. regularis visitationis per integram provinciam 1778* betitelt sind[4]. Pater Hyacinth Dauderlau stand der Provinz, die eigentlich nur dem Namen nach ungarisch, in Wirklichkeit aber österreichisch-ungarisch war[5], in den Jahren 1775-1779 als Provinzial vor[6]. Neben dem Konvent in Wien, der gleichzeitig Sitz des Provinzials war, gehörten der Provinz damals die Konvente in Bozen (Bolzano), Friesach, Graz, Kaschau (Košice), Krems, Leoben, Münzbach, Neukloster (Novi Klošter), Pest, Pettau (Ptuj), Retz, Steinamanger (Szombathely), Steyr und Waitzen (Vác) sowie die Vikariate in Fünfkirchen (Pécs), Kitzbühel, Ödenburg (Sopron) und Vasvár an. Die Brüder hatten auch in Ráckeve (Ungarn) eine Niederlassung, wo sie die Pfarre betreuten. Zur Provinz gehörten weiters folgende Nonnenklöster: Graz, Imbach, Lienz, Mariathal, Steinach, Tulln und Windhag[7].

Während seiner Amtszeit visitierte Provinzial Dauderlau zweimal die gesamte Provinz. Die erste Visitationsreise dauerte vom 26. März 1776 bis zum 17.

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[3] *Ibidem*, 497, Nr. 76-80.

[4] Archiv des Wiener Dominikanerkonventes [= AWOP], Kasten XIII, Provincialia, *Visitationes Regulares Provinciae 1776, 1778, 1783*. Im Folgenden werden die Reiseberichte zitiert als "*Itinerarium visitationis 1776*" und "*Itinerarium visitationis 1778*" mit Folioangabe.

[5] Zur Errichtung und Benennung der Provinz vgl. Isnard W. Frank, *Zur Errichtung der Österreichisch-ungarischen Dominikanerprovinz zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts und zu ihrer Vorgeschichte (1569-1704)*, "Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum" 43 (1973), S. 287-341 (332-341).

[6] Hyacinth Dauderlau wurde am 20. Januar 1725 in Klosterneuburg geboren. Als *filius nativus* des Wiener Dominikanerkonventes legte er am 20. Oktober 1743 seine Ordensprofess ab. In den Jahren 1765-1769 stand er als Regens dem Generalstudium der Dominikaner in Wien vor. Am 22. April 1766 wurde er an der Wiener Theologischen Fakultät zum Doktor der Theologie promoviert. In den Jahren 1775-1782 bekleidete er an der Theologischen Fakultät das Amt eines Notars. Nachdem seine Amtszeit als Provinzial im September 1779 abgelaufen war, wurde er am 6. Oktober 1779 zum Prior des Wiener Konventes gewählt. Er ist am 17. Juni 1782 in Wien gestorben. AWOP, Bücher Nr. 34, *Regestum Studii Generalis Viennensis Ordinis Praedicatorum erectum anno Domini 1687*, p. 424, 426, 452. AWOP, Bücher Nr. 57, *Rerum gestarum gubernante Almam Provinciam Hungariae* [...] *Hyacintho Dauderlau* [...] *series* [= *RPH Dauderlau*], fol. 19r, 198r, 224r. Anton Wappler, *Geschichte der Theologischen Facultät der K. K. Universität zu Wien. Festschrift zur Jubelfeier ihres fünfhundertjährigen Bestehens*, Wien, 1884, S. 207, 431.

[7] Vgl. Ignaz Lamatsch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dominikaner- oder Prediger-Ordens in allen Ordens-Provinzen*, Oedenburg, 1855, S. 30f.

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März 1777. Sie umfasst aber nicht die Visitation des Wiener Konventes, die vom 26. Februar 1776 bis zum 24. März 1776 durchgeführt wurde[8]. Zum zweiten Mal war der Provinzial aus dem gleichen Grund unterwegs vom 21. April 1778 bis zum 16. Mai 1779. In den vier Jahren, von September 1775 bis September 1779, verbrachte er also beinahe 25 Monate, abgesehen von einigen wenigen kurzen Unterbrechungen, auf Reisen.

Die den Reiseverlauf beschreibenden Berichte wurden nicht vom Provinzial selbst verfasst. Vom Provinzial wird in der dritten Person als vom *dignissimus* gesprochen. In beiden Fällen war der Verfasser ein anderer, namentlich nicht genannter Dominikaner, der den Provinzial auf der Visitation begleitete. In einer Liste der Mitglieder des Wiener Konventes aus der Zeit des Provinzialats von Dauderlau findet man bei drei Namen eine Notiz, wonach der Bruder Sozius des Provinzials war. Es waren P. Otto Paumann, P. Martin Egg und P. Raymund Seiz[9], wobei der letztere frühestens nach dem 19. November 1778[10] zum Sozius berufen wurde. Die Tatsache, dass die Brüder das Amt eines Sozius bekleideten, bedeutet aber nicht automatisch, dass sie an einer Visitation teilnahmen, obwohl es diesem Amt entsprochen hätte.

War der Sozius beide Male derselbe Bruder, oder handelte es sich um zwei unterschiedliche Personen? Auf jeden Fall ist jeder überlieferte Reisebericht von einer anderen Hand geschrieben. Es gibt auch kleine Unterschiede in der formalen Gestaltung der beiden Berichte. Schließlich ist zu sagen, dass während der Verfasser des Berichtes von 1776/77 nur von „wir" spricht und sich selbst in der Ich-Form nie erwähnt, der Verfasser des Itinerars von 1778/79 auch auf seine eigene Person Bezug nimmt und mehrmals von "ich" spricht ("*dignissimus et ego*"[11], "*ab eodem denominatus et ego participavi*"[12]). Im Reisebericht von 1778/79 erzählt der Autor davon, wie er einmal seine Uhr verlor[13], sowie von einem misslungenen Versuch eines Diebes, in sein Zimmer einzubrechen[14]. Damit gewinnt der Text noch stärker Züge eines Selbstzeugnisses. Derartige Bemerkungen des erzählenden Subjektes sind im ersten Reisebericht nicht zu finden.

Auf der anderen Seite äußert der Verfasser des zweiten Itinerars im Zusammenhang mit dem Besuch des Konventes in Fünfkirchen seine Freude über die renovierte Konventskirche. Zur Zeit der ersten Visitation wurde sie noch als in einem

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[8] *Itinerarium visitationis 1776*, fol. 1r.

[9] AWOP, Bücher Nr. 57, *RPH Dauderlau*, fol. 134.

[10] Dies ist aus der Reihenfolge der einzelnen Einträge im Katalog der Provinzmitglieder und in den Provinzialregesten zu schließen. AWOP, Bücher Nr. 57, *RPH Dauderlau*, fol. 84v, 197r.

[11] *Itinerarium visitationis 1778*, fol. 1r.

[12] *Ibidem*, fol. 1v.

[13] "*Hic perditum ivit meum horologium, magno tamen labore et fatigio iterum inveni, ex quo factum quod viam aberraverim et in unum hominem modice germanam linguam callentem invenissem, ad conventum non amplius illa nocte pervenissem.*" *Ibidem*, fol. 3v.

[14] "*Durante hac sacra functione nebulo quidam meam infringere ac spoliare intendebat cameram, ast fortuna ipsum fefellit.*" *Ibidem*, fol. 4v.

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schlechten Zustand empfunden[15]. Diese Anmerkung könnte darauf hindeuten, dass der Bruder, der sich an den früheren Zustand der Kirche erinnerte, auch an einer früheren Visitationsreise teilnahm.

Am Schluss dieser Überlegungen ist festzustellen, dass die Quellenlage eine Identifizierung des Autors bzw. der Autoren der Reiseberichte nicht ermöglicht. Doch scheinen mehr Argumente für zwei unterschiedliche Verfasser der beiden Reiseberichte zu sprechen.

Es ist noch zu beachten, dass es sich bei den beiden Schriftstücken um Reinschriften handelt, die erst nach dem Abschluss der jeweiligen Visitation verfasst wurden. Die Reiseberichte in ihrer überlieferten Form wurden also nicht tagebuchartig geschrieben, obwohl die Existenz eines Reisetagebuches als Grundlage für den endgültigen Reisebericht wohl anzunehmen ist[16].

Worüber informieren die Reiseberichte? Grundsätzlich werden Tag und Uhrzeit der Abreise aus einem Kloster, Reisemittel, durchfahrene Ortschaften, einzelne Stationen auf dem Weg sowie Tag und Uhrzeit des Ankommens in einem Kloster erwähnt. Im Bericht vom 1776/77 findet man am Rande noch Angaben über die zeitliche Entfernung zwischen einzelnen visitierten Klöstern und über die Dauer der Visitation. Im Folgenden sollen exemplarisch einige Themen genannt werden, die in den Texten vorkommen.

Aufmerksamkeit ist selbstverständlich dem Geschehen in den Klöstern gewidmet. Offensichtlich war es aber nicht die Absicht der Verfasser, die Situation der Klöster ausführlich zu beschreiben. Das sollte Thema eines vom Provinzial verfassten Visitationsberichtes sein. Es werden eher außergewöhnliche Ereignisse und solche, die die Visitatoren unmittelbar betrafen, erwähnt, z. B. Examinierungen der Patres[17], die vom Provinzial gefeierten Gottesdienste[18], die Teilnahme an der Weihe der Klosterkirche in Ödenburg am 14. März 1778[19] etc.

Die Visitation sollte nicht nur eine anstrengende Angelegenheit sein, sondern sie sollte auch Anlass zu fröhlichen Treffen der Brüder mit ihrem Provinzial bieten. Genauso war es eine Möglichkeit, die Kontakte zu Freunden und Wohltätern des Ordens zu vertiefen. Zu Ehren des Provinzials wurde manchmal ein Festmahl mit Musik[20] oder sogar eine Jagd veranstaltet und ein Salutschuss abgefeuert[21].

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[15] "*Quod hic Quinque Ecclesiis animum recreabat, erat ecclesia nostra, utpote quam multum reverendus pater vicarius ex spelunca, uti in prima visitatione dolenter reperta erat, in magnificam totaliter redegit formam.*" *Ibidem*, fol. 2v.

[16] Zur quellenkundlichen Unterscheidung zwischen "Reisetagebuch" und "Reisebericht" vgl. Petr Mat'a, *Tagebücher*, in *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.-18. Jahrhundert)*, cit., S. 767-780 (768).

[17] *Itinerarium visitationis 1776*, fol. 1r, 2r, 4r.

[18] *Ibidem*, fol. 1r, 2v; *Itinerarium visitationis 1778*, fol. 5v.

[19] *Itinerarium visitationis 1778*, fol. 8r.

[20] Während der Visitation des Konventes in Pettau am 25. Juni 1776: "*In gratiam dignissimi admodum reverendus pater prior ad prandium lautum invitavit amicos et patronos, specialiter dominum major, qui per alumnos ex convictu evocatos elegantem musicam curavit produci de nocte.*" *Itinerarium visitationis 1776*, fol. 3v.

[21] Während der Visitation der Residenz in Kitzbühel im November 1776: "[Die] *4. hujus pereximus in Aurach, ubi venatione aliqua sed infructuosa peracta a curato ibidem honestissime fuimus*

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Ausführlich wird ein Ereignis aus der Visitation im Kloster der Dominikanerinnen in Mariathal vom 23. Oktober 1776 beschrieben:

> "*Cum quaedam soror ibidem conversa ob perversum et obstinatum vivendi modum toti communitati sit afflictioni et sat importabili oneri, nec ulla a longe emendationis spes affulgeat, utpote jam saepius correcta, conclusum fuit ad instantem et energicam monialium supplicationem, ut iterato ad trimestre ab omni sororum consortio separetur et in casu, quo persisteret ulterius in sua malitia, a sequestratione non liberetur. Ne autem hoc in casu tempore sane critico conventus impingat, sed conformiter ad decreta suae majestatis negotium et causa tractetur, convocati fuerunt duo domini praesbyteri saeculares, plurimum reverendus dominus parochus in Praitenbach, examinator episcopalis Frisingensis, et plurimum reverendus dominus vicarius in Volders, deputatus examinator episcopalis monialium, dum religionem ingrediuntur et professionem emittunt, qui audita et visa illa conversa et veris inventis querelis sententiae subscripserunt, quae dein sic subscripta missa est ad ordinarium Frisingensem, in cujus conspectu omnem invenit approbationem. Quin imo episcopus indulsit, ut si non resipiscat, teneatur separata.*"[22]

Erwähnt werden Besuche bei geistlichen und weltlichen Würdenträgern, wie z. B. bei Bischof Károly Esterházy in Erlau[23], bei Kardinal Christoph Migazzi in Waitzen[24], bei Fürst Batthyány in Körmend[25] und bei vielen anderen. Aus detaillierten Berichten über Begegnungen mit prominenten Persönlichkeiten kann man auf das Ansehen, das das Amt eines Provinzials in höheren sozialen Kreisen genoss, schließen. Die Würde bedeutete also Partizipation am sozialen Netzwerk, zu dem sich auch jene Brüder Zugang verschaffen konnten, die den Provinzial auf seiner Reise begleiteten.

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refecti. Ad noctem Hoedicolli in gratiam dignissimi erat musica. Et 6. ein Freyschießen, so multum reverendus pater vicarius gegeben." *Ibidem*, fol. 6r.

[22] *Ibidem*, fol. 5v-6r.

[23] "*Mane 17. Aprilis lecto prius sacro apud patres Franciscanos hora 8. accessimus suam excellentiam episcopum Esterhazi, qui nobis benignissime susceptis, eo integro die in sua residentia permanere jussis prandium in consortio cujusdam canonici apposuit. Coena ibidem cum episcopo sumpta et deposita apud illustrissimum dominum praepositum Bathyan veneratione, thesauro, universitatis domo, carceribus comitatensibus, aliisque visu dignis inspectis in episcopali residentia sericis in lectis illa nocte quievimus.*" *Ibidem*, fol. 1v.

[24] "*1. Maii dignissimus una cum priore admodum reverendo in mensa erat apud suam eminentiam Migazzi. 3. Maii* [dominus cardinalis] *ad monasterium venit solus et unicus cameram dignissimi ingrediens. Ipsus invitationem ad mensam in arce Migaziana extra civitatem sita fecit, de hac gratia utpote ab eodem denominatus et ego participavi. Hic ad arcem non nihil maturius una cum patre loci priore admodum reverendo advenientes et mandato eminentissimi capellanus in sylvam adiacentem et cervos in copia inhabitantes duxit, ubi recte unus globo trajectus mansit, cuius hepar in mensa appositum fuit. Ante mensam eminentissimus per cunctos arcis angulos ducabat nos.*" *Itinerarium visitationis 1778*, fol. 1r-1v.

[25] "*Tandem venimus in Germent, oppidum pertinens ad principem Bathyan, hic mox parato prandio hunc locum non nihil consideravimus et hortum principis visu dignissimum. Palatium erat occlusum, hinc illud solum a foris intueri licuit.*" *Itinerarium visitationis 1776*, fol. 3v.

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Für den Transport nutzte der Provinzial mit seiner Begleitung großteils die Post. Auf Grund der Bemerkungen über die Poststationen kann man sich aus den Berichten ein Bild über einen Teil der postalischen Infrastruktur in der Habsburgermonarchie verschaffen. Gelegentlich wurden den Reisenden von Gastgebern für die Beförderung zum nächsten Ort Pferde zur Verfügung gestellt, wie es z. B. bei den Augustinerchorherren von St. Zeno in Reichenhall der Fall war[26].

Verpflegung und Übernachtungsmöglichkeit fanden die Dominikaner in Klöstern, Wirtshäusern oder bei Privatpersonen. Die Gastfreundschaft der Leute, bei denen sie sich aufhielten, wird immer wieder gelobt. So wird von einem Hausherrn in Raab (Györ) berichtet: "*Prandebamus apud aliquem dominum lutheranum, erat excessive humanus.*"[27] Ab und zu waren die Dominikaner gezwungen, sich das Essen selbst zuzubereiten[28]. Bemerkungen über die Qualität des Essens, des Wassers und der Unterkunft sind in den Berichten nicht selten. Manchmal musste man in dieser Hinsicht auch eine Enttäuschung erfahren, wie z. B. in einer ungarischen Herberge, die der Provinzial mit seinem Sozius auf dem Weg aus Erlau nach Kaschau, nachdem er vom Erlauer Bischof zuvorkommend empfangen worden war, besuchte:

> "*Transeuntes oppidum Sixo, venimus ad diversorium in via situm Aszalos spectans ad capitulum Magnovaradiense. Licet hoc esset pro itinerantibus aedificatum sat commode, attamen quia Haebraeus quidam erat arendator, omnia cubicula frumento repleta erant, nobis vero non erat locus pro quiete quam in stabulo, qualis varietas, quae certo non delectat: heri in serico, hodie in foeno. Aqua erat honesta.*"[29]

Die Reise bot dem Provinzial auch eine Möglichkeit, seine Familienangehörigen zu treffen. Während seiner ersten Visitationsreise begegnete er am 28. Dezember 1776 in Atzenbrugg seinem Bruder Ignaz, einem Augustinerchorherrn in Klosterneuburg. Es war eine unterhaltsame Begegnung, von der Folgendes berichtet wird:

"*Plurimum reverendi domini Canonici Regularis Ignatii Dauderlau, item admodum reverendi ac eximii patri magistri prioris praesentia autumantes, ast nos iis citius advenimus, tandem comparentibus ante prandium adhuc lusum fecimus. Prandium in die esuriali erat magnificum, omnes enim cibi praeferebant formam carnium, finito prandio erat lusus continuatio sicut post coenam ad tempus. Altera die in die Dominica mature surgentes, in capella ibi lecta missa et sumpto jentaculo usque ad mensam lusu nos divertimus.*" [30]

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[26] *Ibidem*, fol. 6r.
[27] *Itinerarium visitationis 1778*, fol. 1v.
[28] *Itinerarium visitationis 1776*, fol. 2r, 2v.
[29] *Ibidem*, fol. 1v.
[30] *Ibidem*, fol. 7r.

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Während der zweiten Visitation traf der Provinzial am 29. März 1779 in Krems seinen zweiten Bruder Leander, einen Franziskanerpater, und am 10. April 1779 wieder seinen Bruder Ignaz[31].

An den Orten, an denen sich die reisenden Dominikaner aufhielten oder durch die sie fuhren, konnten sie verschiedene Sehenswürdigkeiten, sowohl kirchliche als auch profane, sehen: den Fürstenstein der Karantanen auf dem Weg von Friesach nach Klagenfurt im August 1776[32], die Franziskanerkirche, die Kapelle mit dem Grabmal von Philippine Welser sowie das berühmte Goldene Dachl (der Autor nennt im letzteren Fall Herzog Friedrich IV. mit der leeren Tasche irrtümlicherweise als Auftraggeber) in Innsbruck im Oktober 1776[33] oder das Schloss Leopoldskron in Salzburg im November 1778[34]. Neben solchen prominenten Denkmälern waren es zahlreiche weniger berühmte Kirchen, die der Provinzial und sein Sozius bewunderten. Den Blick der Reisenden erfreute auch die schöne Natur: "*via incipiebat pulcherrima silvis amoenis plena et pratis ornata*"[35].

Oft wird auch vom Wetter gesprochen, z. B. im Zusammenhang mit einer Fronleichnamsprozession in Steinamanger, die "*ob ingruentes pluvias*" in der Kirche abgehalten werden musste[36]. Das Interesse des Verfassers des ersten Berichtes erregte auch eine Hinrichtung in Enns[37]. Im Reisebericht von 1778/79 erwähnt der Autor gesundheitliche Schwierigkeiten des Provinzials, welche dieser während der Visitation des Grazer Konventes erlitt[38]. Man findet weiter zahlreiche kurze Aussagen über die konfessionelle Situation der besuchten Ortschaften: welcher Religion die Bevölkerung angehörte, welche Kirchen sich dort befanden etc. Die Reisenden waren in dieser Hinsicht sehr aufmerksam und registrierten eine Fülle an Details.

Der vorliegende Beitrag, der auf den Reiseberichten zu den Visitationsreisen des Provinzials Hyacinth Dauderlau beruht, bietet einen Einblick in das Leben der Dominikanerprovinz *Hungaria* in den 70er Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts. Einzelne in den Quellen enthaltene Informationen gewinnen mehr Aussagekraft, wenn sie in größeren Zusammenhängen betrachtet werden. Es wäre daher wünschenswert, wenn die beiden Reiseberichte der wissenschaftlichen Forschung zukünftig im Rahmen einer kritischen Edition zugänglich gemacht werden könnten.

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[31] *Itinerarium visitationis 1778*, fol. 8v.
[32] *Itinerarium visitationis 1776*, fol. 4v.
[33] "*Hic ingressi ecclesiam parochialem patrum Franciscanorum, aere fusas statuas, nec non capellam, ubi Philipina cognomento Pulchra jacet in tumulo, aspeximus, occasione hujus etiam in conspectum venit tectum illud ex tegulis aureis famosum, a Friderico von der Lähren Taschen erectum.*" *Ibidem*, fol. 5v.
[34] "*Post prandium comitante domino Ranftl conferebamus nos ad arcem seu Coronam Leopoldinam, ubi omnia memorabilia ut aulam, picturas pictorum peritissimorum, volatilia etc. inspeximus.*" *Itinerarium visitationis 1778*, fol. 6r.
[35] *Itinerarium visitationis 1776*, fol. 2v.
[36] *Itinerarium visitationis 1778*, fol. 3r.
[37] *Itinerarium visitationis 1776*, fol. 6v.
[38] *Itinerarium visitationis 1778*, fol. 4r.

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Communist Romania's Cultural Cold War, 1947-1960*

Cristian Vasile

Keywords: *communist Romania*; *cultural history*; *education*; *propaganda*; *Stalinism*; *nationalism*

Usually, after 1989, the scholars whose main field of interest was Romanian culture and society under Communism centered their attention on the problem of the postwar literature with special focus on the relationship between the writers and political power. Consequently, they were more often than not neglecting both the involvement of Romanian intelligentsia in Cold War cultural diplomacy and propaganda, and the consequences of such commitments for literature, arts, and music. Moreover, Romanian historians and political scientists specialized mainly in post-war foreign affairs focused on the political and military dimensions of East-West relations during communism. Subsequently, the very notion of a "cultural cold war" held little significance in Romanian history writing. Only recently has the concept gained academic interest, but its applicability is limited to present day internal-intellectual disputes.

The main objective of this study is to analyze both the decision-making process behind the dynamics of Cold War Romanian cultural diplomacy, and the Propaganda and Agitation Department's strategy to manipulate and enroll the Romanian intellectuals and artists within the anti-capitalist and "anti-cosmopolitanism" front during Stalinism. The chronological limits (1947-1960) do serve to circumscribe a period of the history of Romanian culture and diplomacy, for it encompasses the period of time marked by the creation of the Cominform (September 1947) and by the beginning of a softening in tone of East-West relations and the diminishing control over the literature and arts by the Communist Party. The aim of my article is to look at the mechanisms employed at the level of cultural diplomacy by identifying and profiling its characteristics in the context of international relations between 1947 and 1960. My paper will focus both on the main characteristics and changes that occurred in the Romania's cold war culture and foreign cultural diplomacy, the latter generated by the international events. I will also emphasize the discourses accompanying policy shifts, while searching for the causes of the Romanian propaganda's vehement stand during the battle against the Western „world". In addition, the paper will dwell upon relevant biographical profiles and significant political and administrative actions of those who were involved in cultural

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external propaganda, being communist leaders such as Leonte Răutu, Ana Pauker, Ghizela Vass etc.). This particular section will heavily rely upon recent declassified archives of the *Agitprop*, Romanian Workers' Party (RWP) Central Committee's Department for External Relations, and RWP's Chancellery.

My working hypothesis is that the Propaganda and Agitation Department had an overwhelming role in defining the main elements of the communist cultural policy, in Romania and abroad. The *Agitprop* promoted the ideological uniformity and enrollment of the intellectual and artistic life. Therefore, until 1953-1954, the Romanian Communist regime humbly imitated the Soviet anti-Western cultural policies, which made it, in the later years, more difficult for Romanian writers, film directors, actors, and artists to penetrate or have access to Western cultural milieus and scenes.

Trying to complete the research, I used primary sources from the Central Committee of the RWP – Propaganda and Agitation Department, preserved at the Central Historical National Archives (Bucharest). I tried to analyze the influence of the major international events of the Cold War (1948 Soviet-Yugoslav schism, Soviet-Israeli dispute, Geneva conferences, and the 1956 Hungarian revolution) upon RWP's (cultural) policies towards Serbian, Jewish, Hungarian minorities living in Romania and, on the other hand, towards Yugoslavia, Israel, Hungary within the bilateral relations. My article is also an attempt to clarify of the various facets of a Cold War cultural diplomacy from late 1940s until mid-1960s carried out by a political regime that stood out through a ceaseless ideological offensive, which was part and parcel of its internationally projected propagandistic image. It is also an opportunity to publicize some relevant archival materials. Although I did not neglect the anti-American stance of the Romanian communist regime, I decided to approach somewhere else the topic of the Romanian-American cultural relations in the 1940s and 1950s[1].

Russian: the Main Language of Romania's Cold War Culture

Immediately after World War II, the Romanian pro-communist government, led by Petru Groza, orientated cultural international relations towards the USSR. By the autumn of 1947, the subordination to the Moscow's interests was obvious. In addition to the Association for the Strengthening the Relations with Soviet Union (ARLUS), and other Soviet-type Friendship Societies (with Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary), the Romanian Cultural Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (IRRCS) pursued an intense activity in the early 1950s, but the contacts with the "capitalist" states were at the lowest level. ARLUS, IRRCS, and the external-oriented Division from the Ministry of Arts and Information (later the Committee for Culture and Arts), Central Committee of the RWP's Department for

[1] For the postwar policies of the American cultural diplomacy behind the Iron Curtain and especially in Romania, see Bogdan Barbu, *Vin americanii! Prezența simbolică a Statelor Unite în România războiului rece, 1945-1971*, Bucharest, 2006.

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External Relations, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs represented the institutional framework for external cultural propaganda. With the exception of the last two, these institutions were put under the supervision of the Propaganda and Agitation Department/Section (*Agitprop*) whose leader, Leonte Răutu, published in a 1949 speech entitled *Against Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism and Objectivism in the Field of Social Sciences* ideologically mimicked the newly instated Zhdanovist principle[2]. This manifesto of Stalinist dogmatism in Romania was the epitome of the cultural-ideological external propaganda philosophy until the early 1960s.

As I previously mentioned, one of the main tools used by the authorities was ARLUS, an organization supported by famous and opportunist writers and intellectuals[3], such as Mihail Sadoveanu, who was once accused "to veer about like a weathercock". One of the ARLUS's tasks was to promote and spread the Russian language within Romanian society. Between 1945 and 1960/1963 Russian was extremely privileged by the Communist regime and not perceived as a foreign language in official levels. Meanwhile the other languages (French, English, and German) were neglected at schools and universities. But the effective penetration of Russian in the Romanian schools was made more difficult because of the lack of skilled teaching cadres.

In order to encourage Romanian cultural convergence with the Soviet Union the pro-communist government had introduced Russian as subject matter in Romanian schools in 1945. The Ministry of Education, led by the Social-Democrat leader Ştefan Voitec, did not use the ideological reasoning, but instead used a geopolitical explanation for the introduction of Russian language to school curriculum. He argued that all Romania's neighbors except Hungary belonged to the great family of Slavic peoples, Romania was surrounded by Slavic language countries – most notably the USSR – and moreover Russian literature, mainly the technical one, could help students improve their skills and practical abilities[4].

However, until the autumn of 1947, the Romanian government was not politically uniformed. It included also bourgeois and pro-capitalist ministers such as Gheorghe Tătărescu, vice-president of the cabinet and Foreign Affairs minister. This hindered the communists in their efforts to Stalinize the Education sector. The overwhelming majority of the intellectual elite was French speaking and had pro-Western stances; its pro-Soviet stand was only for appearances' sake. Moreover, in many private High Schools throughout the country, French language teaching continued even after 1944 and as a result the Education Department had to regulate the exam procedures, the school leaving examination. On January 2, 1946 the Ministry of Education issued the rules concerning the French baccalauréat[5],

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[2] Leonte Răutu, *Împotriva cosmopolitismului şi obiectivismului burghez în ştiinţele sociale*, Bucharest, 1949.

[3] Adrian Cioroianu, *Pe umerii lui Marx. O introducere în istoria comunismului românesc*, Bucharest, 2005, p. 106-148.

[4] Arhivele Naţionale Istorice Centrale [hereafter: ANIC], Fond Preşedinţia Consiliului de Miniştri, 1944-1959, file no. 8/1945, p. 130.

[5] *Monitorul Oficial*, part I-A, CXIV, No. 2, Wednesday, January 2, 1946, p. 19.

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prolonging for five years the regulation regarding French High School exams in Romanian educational system.

The Suppression of Western Cultural Institutes and Libraries

However, after Sklarska Poreba (September 1947, the first reunion of the Cominform) rapidly occurring events jeopardized and precipitated the disintegration of Romanian – French cultural relations, and especially the bilateral cultural agreements. Moreover, the Communist leadership and the Government rejected a French proposal to create a School in Romania for the children of the Western diplomats as well as forbade the functioning of the French Library and Italian Cultural Institute in Bucharest. France was then labeled by the Soviet and Romanian foreign propaganda as being yoked by the Marshall Plan and therefore potentially dangerous. The French cultural influence in East Central Europe had to be strictly limited[6].

On the other hand, in the fall of 1947 an insignificant group of Romanians living abroad, especially in France, gathered in Paris (Jean Goujon Hall) in order to express their solidarity with the Romanian government. They decided to send a telegram to Prime-minister Petru Groza stating their "gratitude for the courageous undertaking regarding Romania's economical growth, cultural revival, development and consolidation of democracy, as well as the preoccupation for defending national independence and sovereignty."[7] In fact, the preparations for this reunion were guided from Bucharest and followed the removal of Gheorghe Tătărescu, minister of Foreign Affairs, and head of the National Liberal Party dissidence from the government. Immediately after this event, on December 12, 1947 the Groza cabinet issued a so-called decision concerning especially the cultural contacts with Western Europe and the United States. According to the new governmental order, all commitments and pledges made in the past by both Romanian governments and State cultural institutions regarding the artistic and intellectual cooperation with foreign countries had to be checked out by a commission that included the undersecretaries of State from three Departments – Foreign Affairs, Interior, and Propaganda (later renamed the *Ministry of Information*).

On October 20, 1948 during the RWP Secretariat gathering, Ana Pauker, the successor of Tătărescu as foreign minister[8], presented the demands of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the creation of a School in Bucharest for French speaking diplomats' children who were in Bucharest with their parents. Not

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[6] National Archives and Records Administation (NARA), RG 84, Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Bucharest US Mission, General Records, 1948, Box 87, Rumanian Press attacks "Western Culture" in conjunction with Denunciation of French-Rumanian Cultural Agreements.

[7] Cristian Vasile, *Consideraţii privind relaţiile culturale externe ale României în anii 1945–1953*, "Revista Istorică", 18 (2007), 1-2, p. 134.

[8] See for details Robert Levy, *Ana Pauker: The Rise and Fall of a Jewish Communist*, Berkeley, Calif., 2001.

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only did she argue for the rejection of the Quai d'Orsay's request but called for the closing of the French Institute in Bucharest, implying it was an espionage agency. Under the pretext of French abuses against Romanian officials and citizens, the Romanian Foreign Affairs minister insisted on closing the French Institute even at the risk of losing the Romanian School in France (Fontenays-aux-Roses) as a result of predictable French retaliation policy. The RWP Secretariat approved in principle Ana Pauker's proposal to refuse the founding of a French School in Bucharest and also decided that in the future the French and Italian Institutes would be shut down[9]. The closing of the French Institute was also on the agenda of the next Secretariat meeting on November 17, 1948, when Ana Pauker again invoked the provocations of the French government. The Romanian ministry of Foreign Affairs accused Paris of suppressing both the Romanian Association of France's Friends (RAFF) and its newspaper. Pauker also pretended that Police arrested both the top leaders of the Association and the French citizens together with Romanian excursionists who supported the actions of RAFF. In fact, the Romanian diplomats in France carried things too far, went beyond their competence and the French authorities reacted promptly. Ana Pauker considered that "the time had arrived to close down the French Institute and to expel its functionaries."[10] The French high school exams were also eliminated.

Despite such strong opposition, the French Institute continued to function until 1950, although the Romanian government demanded France diplomatic officers to cease the support for it. In fact, the French Library in Bucharest remained opened to Romanian students and scholars because the French Legation's Information Office took up some of the Institute's duties. American, British, and Italian diplomatic missions took similar actions and used their offices in order to continue spreading in Romania cultural propaganda, books, movies etc. To prevent this type of subterfuge and to frighten Bucharest's readers and other frequenters of Western (crypto) Institutes and Libraries, the communist leadership forbade the activity of all such Information Offices while arresting Romanian library goers. Among the latter was Şerban Papacostea, a recent History graduate from the University of Bucharest and usual reader of the French Library. In March 1950, Romanian authorities imprisoned Şerban Papacostea for "administrative punishment"[11], that is six months forced labor without any legal justification, without a trial and sentence. He was jailed together with other hundreds of students at the Danube-Black Sea Canal, the site of well-known Romanian labor camps, where many intellectuals, bourgeois, and representatives of rich peasantry (*kulaks*) were exterminated, especially during 1949-1953. The Romanian *Agitprop*, Leonte Răutu personally, encouraged and urged the writers to approach the topic of the construction of the artificial waterway. In 1951, an extraordinary talented young prose writer, Petru Dumitriu, published an 800 pages cruel novel titled *Drum fără pulbere* (Road without Dust)[12], praising the Canal as a

[9] ANIC, Fond CC al PCR – Cancelarie, file no. 48/1948, p. 4-5.
[10] Ibidem, file no. 57/1948, p. 3.
[11] Gavin Bowd, *La France et la Roumanie communiste*, Paris, 2008, p. 111.
[12] Petru Dumitriu, *Drum fără pulbere*, Bucharest, 1951.

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remarkable achievement and falsifying the historical facts. The book was later translated into German in 1953[13].

The Romanian School in France

On the other hand, as I anticipated, Romania had lost the buildings of its School in France from Fontenays-aux-Roses, near Paris. In fact was a huge loss for the Romanian culture. The Romanian School in France was established in 1921 due to the efforts of Nicolae Iorga, the Romania's greatest historian, and its model was the American and West European Schools or Academies founded in the Greek and Roman classical culture cities (Athens and Rome)[14]. Instead of Rome and Athens the Romanian Parliament preferred Rome and Paris, the capitals of two countries with neo-Latin languages like Romania.

Among the main goals were: combating the hostile propaganda, especially what was called Hungarian historiographical campaign in the context of 1920 Trianon Treaty; the pursuit of advanced research especially in history and philology; the School offered grants and fellowships for Romanian researchers, artists and students; in return they had to present conferences and lectures. The School from Fontenays-aux-Roses was both boarding school and institute of cultural propaganda. In fact, the Law regarding the education reform (1948) and the deterioration of French-Romanian relations closed the Romanian School in France[15]; a part of the library was lost or sold, or temporarily sheltered at the Romanian Embassy in Paris. After 1948, a few former members (fellows) of the School together with other émigrés created a Romanian Center for [Humanistic] Research, a continuation of the School; they elected Mircea Eliade, the well-known historian of religions as honorary president of the Center[16].

Foreign Students in Romania

In 1948 Romanians lost the School from Fontenays-aux-Roses, an *intellectual embassy,* and moreover the young generation was hindered to attend Western and French Universities. The only option was Soviet Union educational network. On the other hand, Communist Romania's Universities received students mainly from the Socialist pro-Soviet bloc. A report from April 30, 1954 concerning the situation of foreign students in Romania during the academic year 1953-1954 pointed out that the numerous groups of students came from North Korea, Greece, Yugoslavia (many of them were in Romania as political refugees too), and only a

[13] Idem, *Der Kanal*, Berlin, 1953.
[14] Petre Ţurlea, *Şcoala Română din Franţa*, Bucharest, 1994, p. 8. Due too to the financial support provided by the school young philosopher Octavian Vuia could stay in France and Germany and became one of Martin Heidegger's doctoral students.
[15] *Ibidem*, p. 94.
[16] *Ibidem*.

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few from Western countries. The monthly stipend provided to 724 foreign Students was 600 lei, a reduced grant. Some students from capitalist countries such as Finland and Argentina objected to the way were treated by the Romanian authorities and complained vigorously showing the bad housing, inadequate health care, and unhealthy or expensive food served at the universities' canteens[17]. Only in the spring of 1954 the Romanian authorities (the Ministry of Interior Trade) took the necessary measures to establish a special canteen for these foreign students (that is inexpensive prices: 7 lei per daily meal). But, like in the Soviet case[18], the efforts to attract and please the foreign students were not always successful; and one could talk – at least for the beginning of 1950s – about a Romanian failure to assure the comfort of foreign students.

Romania's Cultural Relations with its Neighbors: Hungary and Yugoslavia

Another difficult task for the Communist government was the reconciliation with Hungary; that is the improvement of bilateral cultural relations. On November 25, 1947 the two governments sign a bilateral cultural agreement which was adopted by the Romanian communist parliament (Great National Assembly) on April 21, 1948 in the same day with the Law No. 116 concerning the ratification of the Convention for the cultural cooperation between Romania and Hungary which stated that: "Hostile forces hindered the two people in knowing each other better and hampered free cultural exchanges"; Romania and Hungary reiterated their commitment to remove all elements liable to offend the other part such as: actions, words, references from textbooks, public representations, and other cultural manifestations. One of the main objectives of these agreements was the enrollment of the two countries within "the front of progressive culture", whose purpose was to create a culture purified both from nationalistic and cosmopolitan tendencies.

Besides these cultural conventions, organizations such as Romanian Hungarian Cultural Society (*Asociaţia România Ungaria*) sprang up to help mediate closer cultural relations. Undoubtedly, the improvement was real. But after the Hungarian revolution and especially after 1958 the bilateral relations worsened being compromised both by the closing of Hungarian University Bolyai in Cluj[19], and by the RWP's instrumentalization of the Romanian national feelings. In 1948 similar associations were set up to improve the cultural, scientific, and economic relations with Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

The latter organization (ARIUG) had been largely inactive in Romania because of the Tito-Stalin split. Romanian officials closely monitored all its members, and those suspected of pro-Tito stances; some of them were even arrested.

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[17] ANIC, Fond CC al PCR – Propagandă şi Agitaţie, file no. 17/1954, p. 24-25.
[18] Frederick C. Barghoorn, *The Soviet Cultural Offensive*, Princeton, N. J, 1964, p. 44-50.
[19] Elemér Illyés, *National Minorities in Romania: Change in Transylvania*, Boulder-Colorado, 1982.

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Yugoslav external propaganda made important efforts to promote its cultural values in postwar Romania, especially during 1945 and the beginning of 1948. Romania had an important Serbian minority living mainly in Banat province and Arad County, near the Yugoslav border. This reality also had consequences for closer cultural contacts and exchanges during the period 1944-1948. Moreover, probably after Stalin, Josip Broz Tito was the most praised foreign leader by the Romanian communist-controlled press between 1945 and 1947. Pro-Yugoslav propaganda grew with the occasion of Tito's visit in Romania in November 1947. The Yugoslav model of Socialism was praiseworthy. The Romanian communists encouraged the publication of materials, articles, and papers, which pleaded for the implementation of the Yugoslav cultural, economical, and political structures. The importance of the relations with Tito is given by the fact that at the Romanian Legation in Belgrade were sent important intellectuals and scholars, such as philosopher Tudor Vianu as ambassador and art and literary critic Ion Frunzetti as cultural attaché. The latter published in the fall of 1947 an article in the communist journal *Romania liberă* titled *The Concept of "Culture" in New Yugoslavia*[20], a writing, which soon after its publication became out-of-date. After Stalin brought the ideological charges against Yugoslavia in obedience to Moscow orders the Romanian communist authorities launched an angry campaign against Tito, and as a result the press flew into anti-Titoist rage.

There are also some cultural aspects of the Romanian-Yugoslav dispute due to Soviet instigation. RWP grieved over the suicide cases among pro-Soviet Yugoslav intellectuals. The tensioned relations between Yugoslavia and Romania had a strong effect both over cultural activities and cultural bilateral cooperation; it also caused harm to the Serbian minority in Romania, preeminently to the Cultural Democratic Union of the Slavs (CDUS – *Uniunea Democratică Culturală a Slavilor*). For example, the participation of a Romanian Serbian folk group ensemble in the May Day anniversary festivities in Bucharest aroused doubts among the members of top communist leadership. For example, on April 21, 1949 at the RWP Secretariat gathering, Ana Pauker opposed their participation and she gave voice of her indignation saying: "our people would not understand what those people are doing here [in Bucharest, after our violent campaign against Tito!]."[21] In the end, the Secretariat approved their participation but only with strict conditions.

The secret police (the *Securitate*) and the party propaganda officials closely watched every policy shifts of Tito's Yugoslavia, but also the Romanian Serbs' state of mind. A 1949 Agitprop document concerning the allegedly "espionage and hostile propaganda activity" carried on by Yugoslavia mentioned that "at the beginning one noticed much consternation within Serbian minority in Romania, the majority of them saying that do not believe that Tito produced a real political change in

[20] "România liberă",V, no. 1011 C, Sunday, November 30, 1947, p. 2.

[21] ANIC, Fond CC al PCR – Cancelarie, file no. 42/1949, p. 12; *Stenogramele şedinţelor Biroului Politic şi ale Secretariatului Comitetului Central al PMR 1949* (ed. by Camelia Moraru et al.), 2, Bucharest, 2003, p. 245.

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Yugoslavia, but it is a Tito new and sly political tactics."[22] The document also ascertained that the Serbian minority was still not ready to understand and assume communist ideology due to a low-level of political knowledge. The material, which reached the RWP Central Committee, pointed out the fact that "Tito's numerous secret agents came to Romania escaping over the border to fulfill hostile and damaging missions. They got in touch with the leaders of the Cultural Democratic Union of Slavs in order to undermine the ideological work of this Romanian Serbs' association. Also they organized a network of informants, and espionage agency in Romania with the end of spreading Titoist propaganda materials and to create diversions". The document quoted the cases of some persons who either were excluded from the CDUS or arrested (Bozhidar Stanoevic, Iotsa Sapunjin). Also, Goritsa Teodorovic, the former director of the Serbian Romanian Publishing House in Timisoara (*The Yugoslav Books*) and her husband feeling uncomfortable and being under police surveillance ran away from Romania and found shelter in Tito's Yugoslavia. At the end the document mentioned that "twice in a month the diplomatic pouch came to the Yugoslav Legation in Bucharest bringing a bag full of propagandistic brochures, newspapers, and Titoist books which are afterwards sent to various addresses."[23] Meanwhile, in such context of political tension Romania's cultural relations with Albania improved: on April 12, 1950 the RWP Secretariat decided to approve the demand of Albanian Communist Party (Party of Labour of Albania) to print on special paper 5,000 copies (2,500 in Russian, and 2,500 in French) the illustrated magazine *New Albania* (Albanie Nouvelle). The newborn Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Foreign Countries (IRRCS) had the task of printing them[24].

Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Foreign Countries

IRRCS imitated the Soviet VOKS (All Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries) and did not have any autonomy, each cultural project and invitation of Western intellectuals and scientists had to be approved beforehand by the party leadership.[25] In the same way the economy was planned, cultural relations with the foreign countries were also coordinated. For example, the renewal of the so-called annual cultural plans regarding the relations with people's democracies (countries of the Soviet Bloc) was on the agenda of the RWP gathering on March 31, 1950. At this meeting Ana Pauker noticed that Romania had cultural bilateral agreements with all people's democracies, but the annual cultural plans are behindhand since no cultural event list with Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria existed yet. The proposal that the task of drawing up such plans to be transfer to each cultural institute failed because some states such as Poland and Bulgaria did not

[22] ANIC, Fond CC al PCR – Cancelarie, file no. 170/1949, p. 20.
[23] Ibidem, p. 20-21.
[24] Ibidem, File No. 87/1950, p. 1.
[25] Ibidem, File No. 30/1951, p. 2.

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create such organizations. In the end, the RWP Secretariat decided to suggest to the other countries the formation of similar institutes invested with the task of drawing up such annual cultural plans. Until this moment these plans were to be renewed by an *ad hoc* governmental commission.

The IRRCS was a political tool of Romania's cold war cultural diplomacy. It activated under the aegis of the External Affairs Section of the RWP's Central Committee led by Ghizela Vass, whose political longevity is well known. Until 1960, IRRCS had to strictly follow the RWP's foreign policy, which was in fact in agreement with the Soviet diplomacy's interests. That is the avoiding of any cultural event or action, which could give the impression that the Romanian foreign policy defies in any way the Kremlin. For example, Ghizela Vass, the Romanian head of Foreign Affairs Department initially allowed Romanian participation in the International sculpture exhibit held in Arnhem (Holland) because other communist delegations – most notably those from Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the USSR – would also participate. However, in May 1952, just one month before the exhibition would take place, Vass pulled out the Romanian delegation after all other delegations, except that of Poland, had also pulled out. This despite the fact Jan Willem Havermans, a progressive sculptor appreciated by the Communist Party of Holland, took part in the exhibition.

Nevertheless, the Romanian institutions officially encouraged the intense cultural contacts with Western "progressive", communist-oriented intellectuals. Among the media monitoring documents of the Agitprop there is a translation from *Oesterreichische Zeitung*, an article entitled *Swedish seeing Romania*. In 1952 a Scandinavian delegation composed of scholars visited Romania for three weeks. The Swedish group of political pilgrims included two members of the Swedish Communist Party, two Social Democrats, and three without any political affiliation. After this visit the newspaper *Ny Dag* asked three members of the delegation what they saw in Romania. Engineer Gustav Nilsson (Stockholm) declared: "I did not see something which could give me the impression that over there [in Romania] one put pressure on somebody or exert terror." Yet, according to some estimates, police terror in the form of arrests for political and ideological reasons in communist Romania reached the highest level in 1952[26]. Seemingly, these 1952 figures were not surpassed until 1989.

The Jewish Minority, Israeli Mass Media, and Communist Counterpropaganda

Communist ideological offensive in Romania affected also the Romanian Jewish cultural and religious institutions particularly after 1947. By the beginning of 1954, Israeli mass media was criticizing the Romanian government for the violation of both national minorities' rights and religious freedom. As a result, the Romanian

[26] See *Anii 1949-1953: mecanismele terorii* (ed. by Romulus Rusan), Bucharest, 1999.

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Communists propaganda machinery promptly reacted upon[27]. It is important to follow the entire decision making process with regard to the Romanian response to this Israeli mass media challenge. In order to counteract to the so-called "Israeli Zionist reactionary circles" Leonte Răutu suggested that the RWP Secretariat should approve a plan with the necessary measures. Ghizela Vass, Leonte Răutu, and Simion Bughici (the minister of Foreign Affairs) adopted these proposals during a communist party gathering[28]. Afterwards, Leonte Răutu, Ghizela Vass, and S. Bughici met the communist press representatives, radio broadcasters, and national press agency (AGERPRES) in order to establish their particular tasks of counter-propaganda. Later on, Răutu drew up the document containing the following proposals: Romanian Broadcasting stations must start transmitting radio programmes in Yiddish language (and at least some in English, French, and German), and a commentary by the writer Isac Ludo entitled "What are the real goals of the propaganda carried on by the Zionist chiefs"; newspapers must continue to publish letters from Romanian citizens of Jewish origins who left from Israel and returned home to Romania; obviously, the letters had to praise the communist achievements and to emphasize the economic hardships facing Israel; the plan of ideological retaliation also included the publication of brochures focusing on the situation of national minorities in communist Romania, their rights, cultural institutions, including the Jewish theaters and schools. The propagandistic materials encompassed also pictures with synagogues, rabbis, Jewish Romanian *stakhanovites* (model workers), and scholars, illustrating both the freedom of religion and the complete integration of the Jewish minority in new communist Romania. This information had to be widespread by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and National Press Agency, and published also in Western and Israeli large circulation newspapers. A group of rabbis headed by chief rabbi Moses Rosen had to write a letter addressed to all Jewish communities regarding the so-called campaign of calumnies launched in Israel against Romania. Some members of the Secretariat made objections especially regarding the proposal to transmit data concerning both Israelis' role as a tool (as a "pawn") of American imperialism and the bad situation of Israel's economy. Probably, even Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the secretary general of RWP, raised objections. One annotation probably written by Gheorghiu-Dej himself (he jot something down) on Răutu's document underlined the questionable proposals and asked: *Is it really necessary to engage in official polemics?*[29]

Eventually, the top party leadership decided to allocate the most parts in this counterpropaganda play to the representatives of the Romanian Jewish minority. Consequently, Răutu, Vass and the other representatives of the communist propaganda softened the tone of what could be seen as official condemnation of Israel. Anyway, probably the fact that the three of them (Leonte Răutu, Ghizela Vass, and Simion Bughici) were of Jewish origins was the best alibi for RWP leadership facing predictable accusation of anti-Semitism.

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[27] ANIC, Fond CC al PCR – Propagandă și Agitație, file no. 4/1954, p. 156.
[28] Ibidem, p. 157.
[29] Ibidem.

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Communist Attitude toward Religious Symbols

It is important to focus also on the treatment of religious and especially Christian symbols in Romanian Cold War press either spread in the country or abroad. An ideological inquiry of the Agitprop from 1949 revealed the actions of an allegedly hostile group formed by young Bessarabian Romanian writers, which acted like a mystical sect. Bessarabia (more or less the today Republic of Moldova) was a former Romanian province, which became Soviet Socialist Republic after August 1944. (The Bessarabia's refugees were sort of *pariah*. Even the usage of the word *Bessarabia* was taboo.) On the occasion of May Day 1949 Vornic Basarabeanu (young writer of Bessarabian origins, as his name suggested) published in a prominent literary journal a poem apparently praising the Workers' Anniversary. In fact the stanzas included an acrostic, a poem in which the first letters in each line formed a few subversive words: *Christ has resurrected*! He was punished and could not publish anymore[30]. The case of Mihai Şora is somehow different. At the beginning of 1950s French Romanian philosopher Mihai Şora was transferred to IRRCS as editor of *Today's Romania*, an illustrated monthly magazine for propaganda abroad, which appeared in English and French. It had to give an impression of free cultural press[31]. In fact, by its content, the journal probably had sent an ambiguous message to the foreign readers. But it is true that the ideology and politicization did not leave such an important mark upon it at least in comparison with the rest of the Romanian press. Probably it was the single Romanian periodical during an era of official atheism, which could publish images with churches and priests. Actually, Şora was fired from job because of religious political matter. At the beginning of 1950s the magazine's contents included a feature report on Sibiu's architectural treasures. Sibiu (or, in German, Hermannstadt) was an important city of Transylvania founded by German settlers at the end of the 12th century. Cold War Romanian propaganda has exploited its numerous medieval buildings, castles, and churches in order to send abroad the image of a communist country, which preserves both the cultural heritage and the German minority rights. Also, the friendship and collaboration between Romanians and Germans must be stressed. So, for this reason all architectural elements had to be placed in a good light. The picture of city's Christian Orthodox cathedral was not a fore front photography. Consequently, after the photomontage the picture represented the Church without its towers. Mihai Şora was accused of sabotage; allegedly he tried to suggest abroad that in Romania the communist authorities infringed on religious rights and persecuted the Christian Churches. Mihai Şora was dismissed.

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[30] Ibidem, File No. 91/1949, p. 1-2; see also Cristian Vasile, *Literatura realismului socialist. Scriitorii români şi povara ideologică (1948-1953)*, "Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Contemporană", 7 (2008), p. 110.

[31] Vladimir Tismăneanu, Cristian Vasile, *Perfectul acrobat. Leonte Răutu, măştile răului*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 135.

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1956 National Theater Tour in Paris

After Stalin's death in the context of the cultural "thaw" the intellectual life seemed dominated by the so called Spirit of Geneva; during this period of relaxation Romania joined the United Nations (in 1955) and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO; July 27, 1956). After evident cases of cooperation during the Cold War such as the Geneva conferences of 1953 and 1954, and the Austrian State Treaty of 1955[32], the Romanian authorities were somehow forced to adopt addresses towards Western world preeminently attractive rather than threatening; it allowed the idea of concession and compromise between East and West. The policy makers' were compelled to temporarily abandon their minds, which were shaped by a dichotomic view and to conceive a new cultural strategy towards the West.

Nevertheless, the capitalist countries and the Romanian political refugees in the West remained *the enemies*. After the Soviet model, in 1955 the RWP communist leadership founded both the Romanian Committee for Repatriation (headed by the communist worker Constantin Agiu) and the newspaper *Glasul Patriei* (*The Voice of the Motherland*, a Romanian imitation of the Soviet journal *Golos Rodina*, distributed among Russians living abroad). Its first issue came out in December 1955; the main goal of the two bodies was to influence and manipulate the Romanian emigration[33]. Its headquarters was in Pankow (East Berlin, GDR) that is on the front line of the Cold War.

However, as one said the Romanian communists have had to rethink their (cultural) policies concerning the Western Europe and to consider a soft cultural openness[34]. The cultural strategists were aware of the cardinal importance of the normalization of cultural relations with France. Probably a clarification in the policies of External Relations Section / Agitprop occurred at the beginning of 1956 while accepting on behalf of the National Theater in Bucharest the invitation to join the French Festival of Drama (also as a hope in the possibilities of negotiation with France and with some representatives of the Romanian émigrés in France). In the summer of 1956 took place an event, which had many implications. For the first time after two decades the Romanian National Theater accomplished a tour in Paris. Two plays were presented: *A Lost Letter* (author I. L. Caragiale), directed by Sică Alexandrescu, and *The Last Hour* (author Mihail Sebastian), directed by Moni Ghelerter. In fact, the two directors cast the most prominent actors and actresses of the Romanian drama in the 1950s such as: Marietta Sadova, Ion Manolescu, Maria Filotti, Radu Beligan, who had also important artistic connections, peers or relatives in French capital. The communist power attached at least two important ideological

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[32] Victor A. Kremenyuk, *The Cold War as cooperation: A Soviet Perspective,* in *The Cold War as cooperation* (ed. by Roger E. Kanet and Edward A. Kolodziej), Baltimore, 1991, p. 31.

[33] Nicolae Merişanu, Adrian Majuru, *Glasul Patriei comuniste şi defăimarea exilului*, in *Puterea comunistă şi exilul, în oglindă (texte polemice)*, Bucharest, [2007], p. 23.

[34] For the Soviet case of cultural relaxation, see Fr. C. Barghoorn, *The Soviet Cultural Offensive* cit.

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supervisors of the delegation; the first ideological supervisor was Paul Cornea, head of the General Direction of Theaters within the Ministry of Culture; the second was Pavel Câmpeanu, instructor and later head of sector within External Affairs Department of the Central Committee, and subordinate of the "eternal comrade" Ghizela Vass[35]. In the 1950s he was also in charge with the RWP's relations with both Cominformist Yugoslav refugees in Romania and the leadership of Greek Communist Party (KKE) sheltered in Bucharest. Probably Pavel Câmpeanu is better known as Felipe Garcia Casals because in the 1980s he published under this pseudonym an interesting book, *The Syncretic Society*, with a foreword by Alfred G. Mayer[36], which was the work of a neo-Marxist and dissident sociologist in contrast with 1950s apparatchik[37]. Pavel Câmpeanu played the most important part in this ideological choreography of the Paris Tour. On July 23, 1956 at the end of the journey Pavel Câmpeanu drew up a document: "information concerning some problems with regard to the Romanian National Theater tour in Paris (June-July 1956)"[38], which proved that he watched directly the 1950s strategies of control, infiltration and instrumentalization of the Romanian exile community. "Our ideological bodies – Pavel Câmpeanu noted – which are responsible for the supervision of the Romanian emigration have to analyze if it is somehow useful to publish in *Glasul Patriei* an article or a personal letter of an actor or actress who was in Paris [describing the success of the French Tour]."[39] Obviously, *personal* did not mean *spontaneous* or *freely*. P. Câmpeanu suggested also that some important actors could be asked to maintain the correspondence with their Paris friends and peers (French or French Romanians), in order to obtain valuable information for the Agitprop and External Affairs Department. "[Ion] Manolescu, [Maria] Filotti, [Marietta] Sadova could receive the suggestion to continue the private correspondence with their friends from France"[40]. Marietta Sadova was a former activist of the Legionary Movement and an old friend of three famous Romanian émigrés (E. M. Cioran, the well-known French Romanian philosopher; Eugène Ionesco, and Mircea Eliade). But the privileged and instrumental actors soon became victims. In the early 1960 Marietta Sadova was arrested and sentenced to eight years jail for maintaining links with enemies from outside in order to plan a conspiracy against the social order of communist Romania[41]. She was accused that during the 1956 Tour in Paris received subversive (jingoistic and nationalistic) books, written

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[35] Vladimir Tismăneanu, Cristian Vasile, *PCR şi exilul anticomunist: un document revelator*, http://tismaneanu.wordpress.com/2009/04/05/pcr-si-exilul-anticomunist-un-document-revelator/ [April 23, 2009].

[36] Felipe Garcia Casals [Pavel Câmpeanu], *The Syncretic Society* (transl. from the French by Guy Daniels), White Plains, N.Y., 1980. Romanian edition: *Societatea sincretică* (transl. by Nadia Badrus, Jassy, 2002.

[37] See also Pavel Câmpeanu, *The Origins of Stalinism: from Leninist Revolution to Stalinist society* (transl. by Michael Vale), Armonk, N.Y., 1986.

[38] ANIC, Fond CC al PCR – Propagandă şi Agitaţie, file no. 64/1956, p. 1-8.

[39] Ibidem, p. 5.

[40] Ibidem.

[41] *Prigoana. Documente ale procesului C. Noica, N. Steinhardt, Al. Paleologu, A. Acterian, S. Al. George, Al. O. Teodoreanu etc.* (ed. by Mihai Giugariu et al.), Bucharest, 1996, p. 436-516.

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by E. M. Cioran and M. Eliade, works that were brought in Romania and spread among Marietta Sadova's circle of acquaintances (one of them was philosopher Constantin Noica[42], former sympathizer of the Interwar Legionary Movement).

According to Pavel Câmpeanu's estimates the tour was a multilateral success and an extraordinary triumph bringing growing prestige to Romania; allegedly even émigrés' hearts were throbbing with joy during the representation of the two National Theater's plays. Besides these possible exaggerations, indeed this cultural trip fostered the cultural ties with France, with some French government bodies, and probably improved the image of communist Romania in the eyes of some segments of French public opinion. Definitely, until 1956 Romania and France were two countries alienated one from each other by great ideological differences. 1956 was an effort to surpass this burden of the past. But Romanian cultural diplomacy's list of difficulties regarding French problem was long; there were many obstructions put in the way of the Agitprop/Foreign Affairs Section cultural strategists by French Romanians.

A number of French Romanian émigrés, however, showed a sort of availability toward cultural cooperation with the Romanian government (famous actress Elvira Popesco, for example), but for these Romanians the disillusionments came quickly they understood that they were used by Bucharest as a counterweight against anticommunist exile. It is true that after November 1956 Hungarian uprising and especially after 1958 the will of the Romanian communist leadership to negotiate cautiously with the Diaspora's prominent cultural representatives decreased. Moreover, the attitude toward exile community became more and more angry even fly into rage. Or, so it seems, since the communist power through the agency of the secret police resorted even to the kidnapping of some Romanians including historian and former diplomat in Turkey Aurel Decei. He published many works dedicated to Oriental studies and after 1948 refused to return to Romania. Probably in 1957 the Romanian espionage laid him a trap while he was in West Berlin. Decei was took by force and transferred in East Berlin and then in Romania when he was sentenced to death penalty[43].

A Blackmail Case: Vintilă Horia, 1960

Another case of large scale offensive against Romanian émigrés occurred in 1960 when French Romanian writer Vintilă Horia won the Goncourt Prize, the most prestigious French literary award. During the 1930s Horia published articles in extreme-right wing publications[44]. In the early 1940s joined Romanian diplomatic service and, like Aurel Decei, refused to come back. He was sentenced to life in prison during a 1946 show trial in which he was not present to answer the charges

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[42] *Ibidem.*

[43] Ioan Opriş, *Aurel Decei sau destinul disperării*, Bucharest, 2004.

[44] Richard Wagner, *A Writer in the Cold War*, "Neue Zurcher Zeitung", April 2, 2007; http://www.signandsight.com/features/1318.html [February 23, 2009].

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regarding his contribution to the spreading of fascist ideas. Unlike other pro-Legionary Movement intellectuals such as Mircea Eliade and E. M. Cioran, Vintilă Horia criticized harshly and ceaselessly the Stalinist regime until 1960. No wonder that when the Goncourt Prize jury selected Horia's novel *God was born in exile* as winner in 1960 the communist authorities tried to blackmail the unrestrained and disobedient writer[45]. They demanded him positive comments on communist achievements in return for not revealing to French press his youthful pro-fascist publications and 1946 documents of the trial. After his refusal, the French communist newspaper *L'Humanité* published the compromising information regarding Vintilă Horia's past. The writer was forced to relinquish the Goncourt Prize and leave France[46]. We do not know every detail of this blackmail affair, but probably it involved Agitprop, External Affairs Department, Romanian espionage, and Romanian ambassador in Paris, Constantin Nicuță, former fellow of the Romanian School in France. Probably, Vintilă Horia case was the last aggressive, Stalinist-type action against the Romanian "diaspora". After 1962-1963 when RWP leadership tried to unburden the Soviet Union guardianship and establish "normal" cultural relations with the West such actions were not so desirable.

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The morbid fear of alien ideas and their bearers, a Soviet-type obsession[47], hindered after 1956 the emergence of a Romanian intellectual reform movement somehow similar with the Czechoslovak group of writers, philosophers, and scientists who prepared the Prague Spring. Unlike Czech and Slovak intellectuals, their Romanian peers did not draw up and did not pursue the path of an anti-Stalinist critique with elements of alternative political conceptualization. It is true that they did not find any support within the top party leadership. The radical anti-intellectual repression wave at the end of the 1950s, and the internal disputes within Creative Unions, Universities, and the Academy, fed up by the regime, all these were crucial factors that favored both the instrumentalization of national feelings, an anti-Hungarian stand – after 1958 – instead of interethnic intellectual cooperation toward reform. Especially in the 1960s Romanian intellectuals became prisoners of such cultural and national policies as well as some of their peers abroad – Romanian writers with pro-fascist past – who were prisoners of their own biographies. Although the Romanian communists did not have the Soviet huge resources and tools of foreign cultural policy, due also to these biographical vulnerabilities it threatened to gain control of the Romanian exile community in order to struggle against critical reporting on communist Romania abroad.

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[45] *Ibidem.*

[46] For details, see Ovidiu Bozgan, *Diplomația culturală românească: promovare, recuperare, compromitere. Cazul franco-român 1955-1960*, "Analele Universității din București. Istorie", 48 (1999).

[47] Fr. Barghoorn, *The Soviet Cultural Offensive* cit., p. 74-79.

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After 1958-59 Hungary tried to use the Soviet ideological and diplomatic channel that is the Kremlin's mediation to influence the improvement of the cultural rights of Romanian Hungarians, but the RWP leadership refused to take Hungarian and Soviets' advices[48]. The Romanian communist officials suspected that the increasing cultural cooperation (book exchanges, educational collaboration etc.) would favor the spreading of both Marxist revisionist and nationalistic tendencies among Transylvanian Hungarians. The 1959 unification of Cluj universities was motivated by the need to correct the "concessions" that allegedly favored after 1945 the Hungarian minority and allowed its actions of solidarity with 1956 Hungarian revolution. From the Romanian communists' point of view the national question was solved in 1960. Therefore, the period 1956-1960 could be seen also as the transition from the pro-Soviet and internationalist stand to a "Romanianization" of communism with nationalistic aspects.

[48] *Situația minorităților naționale. Maghiarii*, in *Raport final* (ed. by Vladimir Tismăneanu, Dorin Dobrincu, and Cristian Vasile), Bucharest, 2007, p. 344-345.

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Trabant and the Kennedy Ring. Consumer Identity of Women Workers during the Socialist Period in Hungary

Eszter Zsófia Tóth

Keywords: *communist history*; *Hungary*; *daily life*; *social history*

This paper sets out to describe the cultural identity forms adopted by a semi-skilled woman worker. A lot of work has been done on the problem of worker identity. However, most of them are centered on one or two aspects of people's identities – their race, gender, sexuality, class and so on. The concept of socially constructed identities enables us to better understand the life histories of ordinary people who lived under socialism in Hungary.

Personal identity during the life-cycle is a social construction that shifts depending on the stage of the life-cycle[1]. Different identities appear with differing importance in the descriptions of the different periods in the interview-partners' lives, just as they do in the descriptions of the brigade members. They not only identify with their workshop 'collective', but with their home, or the Trabant car they bought.

My paper will discuss questions regarding women worker's consumer identity forms. In constructing my argument, my most important sources were archive materials form BFL and MOL (Archive of Budapest, Hungarian National Archive) and my qualitative oral history interviews, which were carried out with skilled workers and semi-skilled woman workers. My aim is to recall and recount the life-story narratives of retired workers. My aim is to show the variety of consumer identities adopted by these people in telling their life stories.

Although this group of women is very similar sociologically, they draw on different identities in the telling of their life-stories. Each woman refracted her life from a different angle of vision. They originated from peasant families, and they were migrants to the city. They received a collective award from state in 1970, because they took part in the labour competition as a socialist brigade.

After migration these women lived in the city. At first they worked as maidservants, and from the early fifties to the middle of the seventies as industrial semi-skilled workers in the same textile factory; the Hungarian Stocking Factory. Some of them left the factory in the middle of seventies and they have worked subsequently as laundresses. A couple of them continued working there till the middle of 1990s. Consumption had meaningful use in the official discourse in

[1] Györgyi Bindorffer, *Kettős identitás. Etnikai és nemzeti azonosságtudat Dunabogdányban*, Budapest, 2001, p. 18-34; Ferenc Pataki, *Élettörténet és identitás*, Budapest, 2001.

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socialist Hungary after the revolution of 1956. Consumer goods played a role in the construction of identities during the socialist era[2]. They appeared in the official discourse of both party and state as the guarantor of a higher standard of living. In contemporary propaganda this representation is linked to the year of 1959, when the seventh congress of the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party launched a new living standards policy[3]. Equally the apparent opposition of the "socialist man" and "petty-bourgeois mentalities" was an important theme in official discourse, which was underlined by considerable debate in the press, like that surrounding "ways of life", in which commentators used normative categories to ask how "socialist men and women" should regard certain symbolic possessions, like the car, the weekend house, the plot of land, the sewing machine or the fridge[4].

In my paper I will analyse two stories. One of them is: how could buy a woman worker Trabant? What are the symbolic meanings of this car in the life story narratives? Another story is: It was officially forbidden in the socialist period for anyone to bypass the official sales channels of a centrally planned economy. Act V/1961, under the 'Profiteering' section of the Penal Code, prescribed a maximum sentence of three years' imprisonment for those 'engaging in commercial activity or maintaining a business without the requisite permit, or b) conducting economically unjustified intermediary trade in goods, or speculating in other ways conducive to profiteering.' Respondents told of proceedings being taken against a colleague at the Budapest Hosiery Factory who sold clothing items (pullovers and cardigans) in the factory. The incident can be found in the archives as well, grouped with the cases of pilfering from the factory. Connected to this story may interview partner told me, how could they buy Kennedy signet gold ring, which was very popular in the factory in the end of 1960s.

> "*When I was awarded, ... my good, I said, son, come on, let's count it quickly, one, two, three, four ... how many zeros are there, how much money is it? Oh, my good, how happy I was, I couldn1t believe it: 20000 Ft we received, when I was awarded with State Prize.*"[5]

Teréz was a 40 years old semi-skilled woman worker, when she and her brigade mates were awarded with the State Prize in 1970. She told me this story, when I asked her, what was the most important thing connected to the awarding process. This sum was extremely big money for a woman worker, therefore she bought a car: a Trabant. She was the first woman, who owned a car in the Budapest Hosiery Factory. Bust of the brigade member bought durable consumer goods. Some women still use nowadays the sewing machine they bought, the grandson of Teréz

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[2] Ina Merkel, *Utopie und Bedürfnis: die Geschichte der Konsumkultur in der DDR*, Weimar, 1999.
[3] Tibor Valuch, *A 'gulyáskommunizmus'*, in *Mítoszok, legendák és tévhitek a XX. századi magyar történelemről* (ed. by Ignác Romsics), Budapest, 2002, p. 361-390.
[4] Árpád Tyekvicska, *Frizsiderszocializmus*, in *Beszélő évek. 1957-1968. A Kádár-korszak története I. rész*, Budapest, 2000, p. 260-263.
[5] Interview with T. Károlyné, November 9, 1999.

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still drive the third Trabant. The award gave a chance for these women to emerge, even if for a moment, out of their environment.

In 1971 there was a report, illustrated with a photograph, about Teréz and her new car in the factory newspaper[6]. The basic aim of the article was to present to its readers a successful working-class woman, who was the first worker in the factory who could buy a car. The journalist who wrote the article represented her as "a friendly smiling lady" who was "a member of a notable collective" which had "transformed her into an outstanding woman worker". According to the article she was not only successful because of her membership of a decorated socialist brigade, but also because over many years she had worked as a member of the leadership of the workshop party cell and as union shop-steward. The article drew particular attention to the fact that it was subject of everyday conversation in the factory that 'we have one working woman, who comes to work in her Trabant every day'. The article concluded by asking Teréz what the most important three things in her life were. She replied with 'my work, my family and my car'. The article, by implication, represented Teréz as a woman who by the standards of the period could be considered emancipated. Of the workers in the factory she was almost the first one to own a car, and she was proud that of her family she was the only one who drove, for she would not allow her grown sons behind the steering wheel. In the article she probably deliberately argued that her work was more important to her, than her family in opposition to notions then dominant notions of gender relations. This was perhaps only because she was a widow and she only supported to some extent her grown sons, but it was also because, as she frequently stressed in her life-history interviews, that for her the factory was a space in which she could define her life, and formed a stage on which she could be successful. Her ownership of a Trabant made it possible for her to represent herself as a strong, self-confident working woman, who was able to come to work by car every day, despite the fact that in the community in which she lived there were men who overwhelmingly bought cars, and then drove them. The newspaper 'Brigade Life', when it published the article announcing that the Liberation Brigade had won the State Prize, carried an article in the same issue that pointed to the curiosity of a female student, who alongside her studies earned money as a driving instructor[7].

In her interview with the journalist in 1970 Teréz stressed two elements of her life. Firstly, she represented herself as a successful working-class woman when she stressed that as a decorated working woman she had been able to buy a car in a shorter time than others. Secondly, she argued that she needed the car, as the daughter of a sick, elderly father, so that she could go often to her home town of Túrkeve to visit her parents. "I didn't even dream of winning a State Prize. I was

[6] *Munkás kocsitulajdonosok. I.*, "Harisnyagyári Dolgozó", December 23, 1971.
[7] The article pointed to legal equality between men and women: *Ide is betörtünk*, Brigádélet, April 1970.

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delighted with the large amount of money, because I knew I could buy a car with it[8]. I wrote a letter to the Light Industry Minister[9] to ask her to help me get the car early, and I had the permit within three weeks. The whole thing only took two months, I passed my driving test, and now I often visit my sick father."[10]

In her interview with me Teréz stressed her initiative and determination: it was her idea to write a letter so that she could get the car more quickly. Furthermore she revealed what had been left out of the newspaper article at the time. The car arrived more quickly than she expected so that she could not pay for it all instantly. She did not ask her colleagues for a loan, but went to one of her relatives. An upcoming family wedding provided the solution: "The Trabant arrived so quickly that I didn't have the last 10,000 Forints for it. At that time the father of my son's fiancée leant me the money. I paid him back, I worked day and night, I worked as a cleaner."[11]

Getting the Trabant required exceptional effort therefore on her part, as the need to pay back her loan forced her to take on work that was regarded, and this became clear from another story, as beneath an 'hourly-paid worker'. In a difficult situation she used the connections provided by her extended family, so that she could be among the first manual workers in the factory, who was able to park her own car in the yard of the factory.

Among the stories told in connection with Teréz's Trabant are those which show how useful the ownership of a car was in daily life. With it she took her son to his allotment, she was able to make excursions at the weekend, she could visit her relatives in the country, she gave lifts to fellow brigade members so they could visit relatives, and every year she gave lifts to Soviet soldiers from their Óbuda barracks to the factory's celebrations of the anniversary of the October Revolution. She also drew attention to the fact that this allowed her to buy petrol at the rate of 2 Forints a litre from the Soviet troops, a rate which was 'very cheap'. After she recounted the story of how she got the petrol on several occasions I asked her how she was able to come to this arrangement. I asked her whether she bought the petrol from the same soldiers who she took to the factory celebrations or from others. She told me that she bought it both from those she had given lifts to and others, who she had got to know, while studying Russian. She always agreed that the soldiers should bring the petrol to the caretaker of the apartment block where she lived, and from the money that Teréz left him, he then paid the soldiers. This arrangement worked so well, that when the caretaker decided to buy his own car, he bought his petrol in exactly the same way[12]. Local Soviet troops appeared during my interviews with other brigade members, largely as a possibility for buying items like bedclothes and colour televisions at preferential prices.

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[8] In 1970 as a result of winning the State Prize every member of the brigade won 20,000 Forints. At that time Teréz's monthly salary was 1800 Forints. The down-payment on the Trabant was 9,900 Forints.

[9] This was Mrs. József Nagy.

[10] *Munkás kocsitulajdonosok. I.*, "Harisnyagyári Dolgozó", December 23, 1971.

[11] Interview with T. Károlyné, October 3, 2001. Interviews by the author.

[12] Interview with T. Károlyné, January 29, 2003.

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Teréz remained very attached to her first Trabant. She drove 150,000 kilometres with it and even when she sold it, she regarded it as important that she should watch to see what happened to the car. For this reason she chose a buyer who also worked in the factory. Even today she regards it as sad that its new owner did not care for the car as much as she did. After buying it he took the car to Italy, where it was involved in a traffic accident and completely written off.

The Trabant, as a consumer good acquired a symbolic meaning in her life-cycle, for she bought three Trabants over the following years. She was always able to gain enough money from selling her old car to be able to afford a new one. At the time she sold the last of her cars, just as with the first of them, she did not trust its future to chance: she sold it to her grandson, so it remained within the family. She believed that the new owner's care was demonstrated by the fact that at the time the interview was conducted, in 1999, the third Trabant was still in good working order.

The lack of goods – the methods to buy desired clothes

Respondents told of proceedings being taken against a colleague at the Budapest Hosiery Factory who sold clothing items (pullovers and cardigans) in the factory. The incident can be found in the archives as well, grouped with the cases of pilfering from the factory. The woman was reported on suspicion of 'profiteering'. "The profiteering that occurred in the boarding shop of the Folyamőr utca [factory] in March this year [1968] was carried out by Mrs György H and the requisite official measures are in progress."[13] The same report included cases on the scale of three cardigans worth 520 forints being stolen in 1967. The sale of goods within the factory was criminalized and those writing the report treated it as if it were a case of stealing 'public property' such as the tights produced at the factory or 'private property' such as clothes or valuables belonging to other workers. Nonetheless, there was a big demand for cheap products which were in short supply in the shops. Sellers were prepared to run the risk of police proceedings. It gave them extra income for work conducted at least partly outside working hours.

Teréz, the owner of Trabant car told me a story about Kennedy rings. "There was an old lady in the boarding shop and she had some American relative who sent her rings. And this old lady asked me to help her sell these rings. I said why not. A bit of money. And X. Y. bought from me as well and wore the ring for two months... It was Kennedy's signet ring, a gold ring, I think, selling for 200 forints. It wasn't expensive. And she wore the ring for two months and then she told them in the party committee that I was selling rings with Kennedy on them."[14]

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[13] BFL BB Fond 8 XXXV (8) C, Budapesti Harisnyagyár iratai. Report on situation with social [i. e. public] property in the two Óbuda hosiery factories, April 11, 1968. The case was also on the April 16 agenda of the factory's party executive committee: "16. In the boarding shop, police proceedings for profiteering are underway against Mrs H. She made sizeable transactions, selling in instalments to a value of 4,000-5,000 forints a month. It is necessary to mobilise several people for the social court proceedings; the trade union requests assistance."

[14] Interview with T. Károlyné, October 3, 2001.

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Teréz was explaining the fact that she had to resign from a responsible position in the factory trade union by relating that she sold rings bearing the portrait of the murdered American president. She was reported for this, because the authorities thought it was unbecoming for a party member to sell Kennedy rings, and not Khrushchev rings, for instance. (The Soviet leader had been ousted by then, and in any case, she would hardly have been able to sell such rings for 200 forints a piece.)[15] She explained at the beginning of the story how she had obtained the goods, which earned her a little extra income. The same storytelling approach occurs in other narratives, when the women explain why they took jobs as domestic servants when they were girls. 'Lending a hand', as the main motive for a women to take a job outside the home, is a recurring narrative element, as if the respondents were ashamed in the interview situation to bring up need as a motive.

Mária the leader of brigade sold pullovers in the workshop and came into conflict for that reason with the party committee and with the factory security officer. She related that the security officer borrowed an argument from official parlance when trying to shame her out of selling. He said that selling was petty bourgeois and incompatible with public office or party committee membership, and unworthy of 'socialist man'. This was related when the respondent was asked about the police matter mentioned earlier.

> "*I did selling as well, you know. And I was reported. Where we were living... next door, you know, there was a lady with relatives in Czechoslovakia, and she... brought knickers and bras and things over from there and asked me if I wanted to try and sell them. Well, of course, I took them into the factory and sold them, but the security officers noticed... I was reported... The security officer told me he knew I was selling something. I said prove it then. Then he said I was a district party committee member, and this and that, and how come I did that?... But he couldn't prove it.' (She laughed.) 'Nothing ever happened over it.*"[16]

Those travelling to work from villages around Budapest included a contingent from Csév (Piliscsév, Esztergom County), who would regularly bring home-grown, home-made produce not available in the city markets. They would put offerings in the fridge for supervisors and workshop managers in the hope of advancement – some accepted the gifts and some did not – but ordinary work mates had to pay for their sausage or black pudding.

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[15] The author of a manual for leaders of socialist brigades did not advise naming brigades after Kennedy either, although he had been murdered. Tibor Fábri, *A szocialista brigádvezetők feladatai és munkamódszerei*, Budapest, 1972. On the removal of T. Károlyné, see BFL BB Fond 8 XXXV (8) C, Budapesti Harisnyagyár iratai. Meeting of Branch I, October 4, 1970.

[16] Interview with S. Vilmosné, January 14, 2003.

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"The Csév people brought in *disznótoros* [pig-slaughter products] to sell. They'd ask every year if I wanted some. I'd say yes. They made black pudding differently from us at home, with a lot of white breadcrumbs, but it was delicious."[17]

According to the stories, the furnace workers would also buy liquor in working hours from country *pálinka* sellers. The porters were involved in the selling and would tell the furnace workers when a new consignment arrived[18].

Conclusion – the role of an official discourse emphasised women worker identity

The notions of female equality and unequivocal political support for women going to work formed central pillars of official discourse during the socialist era. Although the propaganda of the regime maintained that there was no unemployment, fluctuations of supply and demand in fact determined how many unskilled women were able to work in industry and what work they were able to get. In 1965 an article in *Nők Lapja*, the most popular womens' weekly, wrote about how unskilled women workers were laid-off in one factory. The article did not dispute the 'economic justification' for the lay-offs, and while it expressed sympathy for women affected, it nevertheless supported the official point-of-view. The author argued that those who were laid off were those who had to go because they were not good workers: they had taken too much time off and were consequently seen as untrustworthy. The director of the factory was quoted by the journalist, and made no concessions to notion of gender equality, but instead expressed the importance of the primacy of men in the world of work. The director stated that in deciding who should be laid off he took into account the family status of the worker and, where a married couple worked in the factory, he sacked the woman rather than the man, because her wage was almost always the lowest. He not only regarded it as acceptable that a woman should earn less for the same work than a man, but that when a woman lost her job, she did not lose everything. She could go back to the family, which was how she defined her life. Most of the laid-off women, however, did not stay at home: according to the article most went to work in the market-gardening unit of the local state farm[19]. In the official discourse of the socialist period the rhetorical promotion of gender equality and the integration of women into socialist labor, appeared together with notions that stressed how female wage labor came second to the role of women within the family. The need to guarantee the economy a sufficient supply of female labor was regarded as an important function of the state according to official discourse in the socialist era. There had to be an adequate supply of female labor. State control over labor was not only symbolized by the institution of work books, but also by the fact that official discourse represented working in the same factory and workshop over many years as a virtue in its self. The "core' of the long-term

[17] Interview with F. Józsefné and S. Józsefné, November 19, 2002.
[18] Interview with T. Károlyné, October 6, 2003.
[19] *Kétoldalú felelősséggel*, "Nők Lapja", 30. January 1965, and *Nők a munkaközvetítőnél*, "Nők Lapja", November 11, 1962.

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workforce received material rewards, labor mobility was condemned[20]. The state attempted to strengthen the ties of the worker to the factory, through, among other methods, the publication of articles in both enterprise and national newspapers that dealt directly with factories and their histories. This was a consequence of an attempt to build collective identities around the factories through official propaganda[21].

It should be pointed out, that these men and women speak lot about consumption. These women rarely depict themselves as 'working women'. These women's narratives offered a sense of having belonged to more than one group in their life (consumers, workers, neighbourhood communities). Major differences in the narration of these women have appeared in many ways. Understanding how working people came to be storytellers in the interview situations is only the first step toward a better understanding how and why they structured their life accounts the way they did, and how they understood, and ultimately structured their lives.

[20] *A törzsgárda létkérdés*, "Nők Lapja", July 17, 1969.
[21] For example, *Emlékezik a gyár*, "Nők Lapja", May 2, 1981; "Harisnyagyári Dolgozó", December 19, 1974.

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Khrushchev, Ulbricht and Gheorghiu-Dej. Romania's Policy towards East Germany between Solidarity and Autonomy (1953-1962)

Cezar Stanciu

Keywords: *communist Romania*; *East Germany*; *Soviet Union*; *communism*; *economic cooperation*; *industrialization*

Romania's relations with the German Democratic Republic (GDR) illustrate better than anything the sinuous road towards autonomy in foreign affairs underwent by the Gheorghiu-Dej regime. Moreover, it proves the discrete penetration of interest in foreign policy, a field previously dominated by ideology and submission in front of Moscow. After Stalin's death, each Communist regime in Eastern Europe needed to find the suitable balance between change and stability, between Soviet and national interests. This new direction was learnt step by step, by all Communist regimes. The change began with Malenkov's "New Course". The redefinition of Soviet priorities in foreign affairs associated with an enlargement in the satellites' space of maneuver determined all Communist regimes to redefine their own policies. From 1953 to 1962 Gheorghiu-Dej had embarked on a difficult slalom, trying to promote his interests while pretending they were not in contradiction with Moscow. In 1962, he stopped pretending. During these years, Ulbricht did pretty much the same thing. The Romanian-East German relations from 1953 to 1962 are a story of action and reaction: Khrushchev acted while Ulbricht and Gheorghiu-Dej reacted. Action and reaction happened in different spheres and had different meanings: the first aimed at reform but the second aimed at autonomy. That was the meaning Gheorghiu-Dej had given to reform.

The Definition of Solidarity: "Their Adversary is Our Adversary"

The implementation of the "New Course" began in Germany. The German issue remained a priority for the Soviet foreign policy because, after a West German state had already been established, its rearming was under way at that time. Moscow was determined to prevent West Germany's integration in NATO at all costs, even without Stalin. But East Germany, with its great economic and social difficulties, was far from being a model for the West. East Berlin was not in the position to compete with West Berlin, and Khrushchev understood that well. Thousands of East German citizens were fleeing to the West through Berlin daily, which created serious

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problems for the Ulbricht regime, especially regarding image and prestige[1]. The situation in GDR needed rapid improvement, as the Presidium of the CPSU had already decided on 27 May 1953. East German Communist leader Walter Ulbricht and premier Otto Grotewohl were summoned to Moscow on June 2 where they had to endure severe Soviet criticism for their policy of forced Socialist construction[2].

Returned home, the two took rapid measures meant to please the Kremlin. On June 9, the Politburo of SED [*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*] decided to abandon the policy of forced Socialist construction in favor of a more socially oriented policy: more funds for consumer goods industry, halting forced collectivization and religious persecutions etc. Such measures were a bit late, though, and incomplete. They were not able to prevent the famous riot of the Berlin workers, which took place from June 16 to 17 1953. The workers' discontent was directly caused by very high work norms, but a special factor was also the regime's vulnerability, obvious in society after the return from Moscow. The insecurity manifested by the authorities amplified the tensions already existing among workers. The sudden shift in the regime's policy raised confusion and the admittance of mistakes caused real panic among party members.

On June 13, groups of construction workers wrote a message addressed to premier Grotewohl asking for the annulment of all changes in work norms, on a harsh, ultimatum tone. The situation evolved on June 17 in a mass demonstration with political character. Tens of thousands of workers from various factories in East Berlin declared strike and went out in the streets[3]. The protesters demanded free elections, freedom to form non-Communist political parties, vandalized Stalin's statue in Berlin. Also, anti-Soviet slogans were cried out[4]. The authorities responded with increased insecurity, deciding – under mass pressure – to reduce the work norms. An impressive number of security workers was mobilized, but to no effect. Many party officials at central or local level were forced to run from the protesters. In some places, security forces fraternized with the protesters. The weak reaction of the Ulbricht regime determined the Soviets to take action. The Western border in Berlin was closed and Martial Law was declared. The Soviets insisted that the repression be conducted by the East German Popular Militias, supported by Soviet troops[5]. At the questioning which followed the repression, many of the detainees

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[1] Mark Kramer, *The Early Post-Stalin Succession Struggle and Upheavals in East-Central Europe. Internal and External Linkages in Soviet Policy Making (Part I)*, "Journal of Cold War Studies", 1 (1999), 1, p. 12.

[2] James Richter, *Reexamining Soviet Policy Towards Germany During the Beria Interregnum*, Working Paper nr. 3, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, 1992, p. 14-15.

[3] M. Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 42-43.

[4] *Uprising in East Germany 1953* (ed. by Christian F. Ostermann), Central European University Press, 2003, p. 183.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 186. In his report to Molotov and Bulganin, V. Semionov, Commandant of Soviet troops in Berlin, described certain "provocations" coming from West Berlin and his concern that participants at a demonstration of support in West Berlin could force the border into the East sector. Western radio stations employed massive propaganda, instigating East Berliners to riot against the regime.

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argued that their protest was mostly caused by Ulbricht's mistakes, which he had previously admitted[6]. Moscow was confronted with a first "burning" reaction to the "New Course". It proved once again how weak the East German regime was, but it also illustrated how dangerous sudden shifts in policy can be, especially when accompanied by radical self-criticism.

The CMEA reforms initiated by Moscow in 1953-1954, meant to make the organization more efficient, also focused on Germany. GDR was a huge burden on the Soviet Union, economically, and a very sensitive issue politically. This is why Khrushchev decided to ask for a more active involvement of the peoples' democracies in support of East Germany.

In March 1954, a session of CMEA discussed the problem of industrialization in the satellite countries and the support of industrialization through foreign trade. Mikoian expressed severe criticism against all Communist leaderships in Eastern Europe for their irrational program of accelerated industrialization. Romania was a good example in this regard. Mikoian declared the percentage of the Gross Domestic Product allocated to industrialization was unreasonably high "which caused great difficulties, which the Romanian comrades are trying to solve"[7]. This criticism also regarded agricultural policies. Romania and Bulgaria, Mikoian mentioned, had paid little attention to the development of agriculture which is why neither of the two countries had managed to reach the interwar level of production. This somehow anticipated future divergences with Moscow, on the issue on Romania's developmental policies.

Regarding Germany, Mikoian emphasized the political necessity to support this country, especially considering the consequences of the workers' riot. He specifically requested Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary to make efforts in order to provide the GDR with the food and agricultural products needed[8]. The CMEA session in March 1954 also adopted a resolution regarding East Germany. The document stressed certain obligations the member countries had – in Moscow's vision – regarding East Germany: "considering the fact that maintaining a high level of economic development and material welfare of the working masses in Germany concerns not only the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union, but all member countries of CMEA, the Council admits as necessary for all peoples' democracies to help the GDR and satisfy its economic demands"[9]. Those demands consisted mainly in food products. Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary were mentioned in the Resolution as obligated to deliver cereals and meat to the GDR. The issue was very delicate for Khrushchev, after the USA had undertaken consistent measures of

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[6] M. Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 45-54.
[7] ANIC, fond CAER, file 13/1954. *Note din discursul tov. Mikoian 26.III.1954*, f. 19.
[8] Ibidem, p. 22-25.
[9] Ibidem, file 14/1954. *Anexa no. 3 la Protocol. Despre măsurile pentru acordarea ajutorului Republicii Democrate Germane*, p. 10. Note: all English translations of original Romanian documents belong to the author.

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aid in favor of the East Berliners, by delivering packets of food. This illustrated the Soviet incapacity to handle East Germany[10].

In January 1956, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered a note to the Central Committees of all Communist parties in Eastern Europe, regarding several foreign policy issues. The note was intended as a preliminary statement of foreign policy from Moscow, for the Conference of Communist parties which took place in Moscow, starting with 6 January. The note established a series of priorities for the Communist countries, like developing relations with third world countries, intensifying activity in the Warsaw Treaty Organizations as a response to NATO initiatives and so on. Among these priorities, East Germany occupied a special place[11]. The Soviet government recommended its satellites to offer full support to Ulbricht's proposals aimed at unification, as illusory as they may be. Especially GDR's proposal for an All-German Council should be endorsed by the peoples' democracies. The note also added: "it must be considered that the competition between the socialist and capitalist systems evolves in very acute forms in Germany, that millions of Germans may draw wrong conclusions from the present development of the West German economy, which may be explained through circumstantial factors. This is why we must help the German comrades by all means, in their most important task: overcoming present difficulties in the economic life of GDR and creating a superior situation compared to West Germany in what concerns the material conditions of life for the working class"[12]. The note also asked the peoples' democracies to prove enthusiasm in supporting GDR's positions in various international organizations, in order to improve the credibility of the East German regime.

At the above-mentioned Conference, Khrushchev reiterated the idea, insisting that the peoples' democracies must increase their contribution in supporting Soviet policies in world affairs, including the consolidation of the East German regime. Khrushchev described the German problem as a "matter of honor" for the entire "Socialist camp": "[...] their adversary is our adversary. That is why we must mobilize all our resources to help strengthen the German Democratic Republic. Presently, our help is insufficient"[13]. A concrete form of support, in Khrushchev's opinion, was to rely on the GDR in providing industrial products. Most countries, he emphasized, build their own industrial capacities for various products, while the East German industry remains insufficiently used[14].

Ulbricht himself brought up the issue of economic cooperation with other peoples' democracies, as a key factor in GDR's economic hardships. Most of the agreements concerning deliveries of raw materials have been delayed for one reason or another. At the same time, large quantities of products contracted from East

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[10] Christian Ostermann, *Keeping the Pot Simmering: The United States and the East German Uprising of 1953*, "German Studies Review" 15 (1996), 2, p. 70-79.

[11] ANIC, fond CC al PCR – secţia Relaţii Externe, file 1/1956. *Notă informativă a Ministerului Afacerilor Externe al URSS cu privire la problemele politicii externe*, p. 71-79.

[12] Ibidem, p. 80.

[13] Ibidem, file 2/1956. *Procesul-verbal al Consfătuirii*, p. 14.

[14] Ibidem.

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German factories have not been acquired. Ulbricht advocated his cause with great ability, always connecting GDR's economic development with West Germany, stressing the political factor. West Germany, Ulbricht declared at the next Conference of Communist parties in June 1956, has the capacity to increase its exports very much. GDR, on the other hand, needs a lot of imports from the capitalist countries, but cannot insure them because of a terrible lack of hard currency. GDR is not able to export as much as West Germany, on the Western markets, which is why it has a deficit of hard currency. He did not forget to mention that most of GDR's imports of raw materials and food products for the next few years were not contracted yet. Such problems were very acute in what concerned imports of coal, non-ferrous metals and cereals. The most important downfall of such a situation, in Ulbricht's view, was political. GDR was not in the position to have any political influence on the working class in West Germany, because the standard of living there was much higher than in East Germany. In Germany, Socialism was viewed in terms of standards of living and GDR was far behind, he mentioned[15].

Ulbricht used the political argument to convince other peoples' democracies to increase their exports to GDR and also to somehow use the Soviet political priorities in his own favor. Ulbricht knew that Moscow was very sensitive to aspects involving Germany and all other Communist leaders knew that as well. So Ulbricht's appeal was regarded, in a certain measure, as a Soviet appeal. Gheorghiu-Dej was willing to do everything to serve Soviet wishes, but later on he will see in Ulbricht's repeated call for help a manifestation of national interests. Competition for development in the late 1950s and early 1960s will generate ideas like the principle of specialization. That is when Gheorghiu-Dej will begin to oppose Ulbricht attitude of relating economic needs to political aspects.

The Soviet Union placed a lot of importance on the refugee crisis in Berlin, due to the political damage it caused, but saw the solution in different terms. Since 1952, Ulbricht requested Moscow to take measures for closing the West Berlin border, but Moscow disagreed. To Stalin, after the first Berlin crisis, the solution seemed radical and politically unacceptable. The "New Course" was, in 1953, Moscow's response to Ulbricht's proposal[16]. The first divergences between Ulbricht and Khrushchev emerged from this approach. Ulbricht was in favor of a brutal, radical solution while Moscow favored economic reform as a solution to convince East Germans to remain home. Clashes of ideas continued, especially referring to the denunciation of Stalin's cult of personality. Just like the "New Course", the 20th CPSU Congress decisions were detrimental to Ulbricht. He learned to rely on himself and instead of implementing economic reform Ulbricht demanded more and more Soviet help.

The basic contradiction regarded, in reality, the future of GDR. Moscow usually saw East Germany as an object of negotiation in its relations with the West. Especially in what concerned East Berlin, the Soviets were open to discussion and

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[15] Ibidem, file 6/1956. *Cuvântarea tovarăşului Ulbricht*, p. 30-39.

[16] Hope M. Harrison, *Driving the Soviets up the Wall: A Super-Ally, A Super Power and the Building of the Berlin Wall, 1958-61*, "Cold War History" 1 (2000), 1, p. 55-58.

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compromise. Ulbricht did not agree to that. He did not agree with Khrushchev's initiatives regarding West Germany, either. When Khrushchev met Adenauer in 1955, Ulbricht understood that if Moscow and Bonn do reach an agreement, it was going to be on his back. This is why Ulbricht was not very favorable to a détente with the West. The détente would have weakened his position. New archival evidences suggest that Ulbricht exerted great pressure upon Khrushchev during the second Berlin crisis, in favor of a radical attitude. He even considered building a wall by himself, without a Soviet decision in this matter[17].

Ulbricht's radical approach was visible in the fall of 1957, at the Conference of Communist parties in November. In discussing the final statement of the Conference, Ulbricht came in contradiction with Gomulka, regarding ideological approaches to Western imperialism. Polish leader Gomulka, given his country's close economic ties with the West, supported a relaxed attitude towards imperialism. He did not agree to naming sources of imperialism, like the United States or West-German militarism. Ulbricht reacted against this approach, insisting that the source of imperialism is not general, but American in particular, and its main instrument in Europe is West German militarism[18].

Serving each other's Needs

Romania cooperated well with GDR, as long as there was common interest. Gheorghiu-Dej had ambitious plans of industrialization and any help was welcomed, especially through common projects. The typical example is the partnership between Romania, GDR, Czechoslovakia and Poland for the construction of a large industrial enterprise for reed exploitation. The idea first occurred during the Romanian-German economic negotiations in 1952, when a Convention was signed between the two parties for this matter. According to the Convention, GDR was going to contribute with technology and equipment to the construction while Romania was going to provide reed from the Danube Delta. The German technology was going to be paid by the products of the enterprise, mainly cellulose[19].

The "New Course", applied both in Germany and Romania, as well as Ulbricht's economic difficulties determined, in the end, the project's postponement because of lack of funding. The postponement was officially agreed upon in Berlin, in September 1953[20]. The project was revived later on, including two more partners. In 1954, Poland raised the question of importing reed from Romania to produce cellulose. The Romanian Government, remembering the former project, came with a different offer: the two countries would contribute to the construction of a new enterprise in Romania, to provide both Poland and Romania with cellulose. In the

[17] *Ibidem*, p. 61-64.
[18] ANIC, fond CC al PCR – secţia Relaţii Externe, file 1/1957. *Cuvântarea tov. Ulbricht*, p. 56-60.
[19] Ibidem, fond CAER, dosar de colaborare economică RPR-RDG nr. 2/1952. *Proiect de Convenţie nr. 2*, p. 2-5.
[20] AMAE, fond 20-224, Box Germania 1954. *Aide-Memoire. Notă înmânată ambasadorului german în audienţă la 13.07.1954*, nepaginat.

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end, discussions evolved towards a quadruple partnership, involving: Romania, GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, in 1956. In July 1956, in Bucharest, delegations from all four countries signed the Convention and committed themselves to consistent contributions in technology and equipment for the construction of the enterprise, somewhere near the Danube Delta. The investment was going to be paid back in cellulose produced by the factory, as specified in the initial Convention[21].

In the second half of the 1950s, Romania's relations with East Germany developed progressively. The main favorable factors were the domestic consolidation of both regimes, the détente occurred after Stalin's death, the complementarities in economy and trade. In April 1957 a state and party delegation from Romania visited East Germany, in an attempt to accelerate mutual relations. The delegation was lead by party leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, as well as other high ranking party members such as Chivu Stoica, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Ștefan Voitec, Grigore Preoteasa, Filip Ghetz and Iosif Puvak. The basic issues in the program were economic cooperation, technological exchanges and consular matters. Officially, leader of the delegation was Chivu Stoica, as prime-minister, since the visit was organized at state level, Gheorghiu-Dej being second on the list[22]. The Romanian delegation was in Berlin from 24 to 28 April 1957 and was very pompously welcomed, by the typical ceremonial of "Communist comrades" at such level.

The first meeting of Gheorghiu-Dej with Walter Ulbricht took place on the first day of the arrival. Unlike Gheorghiu-Dej, Walter Ulbricht had a rich Cominternist biography. After Communist leader Ernst Thalmann was arrested by the Nazis, Ulbricht became one of the competitors for leadership of the German Communist Party. He was accused of organizing various plots, intrigues and denunciations which put most of his adversaries in prison or graves, by the hand of NKVD. After the war, Ulbricht was part of the team sent by the Kremlin to Germany, to rebuild the country by Stalinist patterns. Walter Ulbricht became secretary general of SED in 1950 and he occupied that position until his death in 1971. Gheorghiu-Dej was not very sympathetic towards former activists of Comintern, but he and Ulbricht did share the same Stalinist vision of life.

At their first meeting in Berlin, Ulbricht explained his country's position in foreign affairs, with a special emphasis on West Germany. In his opinion, the most important threat to peace in Europe was the West German militarism, encouraged, as he claimed, by the United States. Ulbricht was not saying anything new, as these were standard topics of the Soviet foreign policy discourse. But he did have a problem with West Germany, especially concerning the workers and their standards of living. About that, Ulbricht bitterly admitted: "we are weaker than them, economically. Their standard of living is higher than ours"[23]. GDR's policy towards

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[21] Ibidem, Oficiul de Studii și Documentare, Ioan Suciu, *Relațiile româno-poloneze de la declanșarea celui de-al doilea război mondial până la ultima întâlnire la nivel înalt dintre reprezentanții celor două țări*, p. 36.

[22] ANIC, fond CC al PCR – secția Cancelarie, file 60/1957. *Lista membrilor delegației Partidului Muncitoresc Român*, p. 84.

[23] Ibidem. *Note de la convorbirile dintre Delegațiile CC al PMR și CC al PSUG din 24.IV.1957*, p. 2-4.

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the Western neighbor, Ulbricht explained, was based on a series of measures meant to attract working and Communist elements with a developed "class consciousness". He was glad that most of the West German intellectuals were against NATO. Ulbricht also told Gheorghiu-Dej that GDR has to be permanently prepared to resist an armed aggression from West Germany. The regime had organized combating guards of workers, in mostly all factories. Their mission was to engage in street and guerilla fights in case of necessity, to protect the "conquests of Socialism"[24].

During the stay in Germany, Gheorghiu-Dej and the other members of the delegation visited many factories and monuments, met with many East German officials. Specialists from the State Planning Committee negotiated with their German counterparts different issues of economic cooperation, in the field of energy and cellulose. Building of the common cellulose enterprise began only in 1957 and was completed in 1961.

Gheorghiu-Dej met Ulbricht again on April 28 when the Romanian leader informed the Germans on several issues of economic development. Gheorghiu-Dej also explained the party's behavior during the events in Poland and Hungary, in the fall of 1956[25]. He told Ulbricht that debates concerning Khrushchev's "Secret Report" at the 20th CPSU Congress were strictly controlled, under severe supervision. This is why, as Gheorghiu-Dej put it, the situation did not deteriorate: "at the Central Committee, there were certain outbursts from some members, but they were put in their place; there were only a case or two, completely isolated, among intellectuals. So the debate, it can be said, raised the political level of party members, clarified certain aspects, increased the unity, the discipline. So, in our opinion, the results were positive. No serious defection." Gheorghiu-Dej spoke with pride of the fact that during the turmoil in Poland and Hungary, he assumed a "just" position and took timely measures to prevent the emergence of a similar situation in Romania[26].

In that context, Gheorghiu-Dej told Ulbricht, the party leadership took consistent measures to improve the standards of living and avert social discontents. One of these measures was increasing salaries and pensions. At the same time, decisions were made to reduce the bureaucratic apparatus and simplify the administration in order to improve the "connection with the masses" and involve the workers in solving political and economical issues. In the country side, the party tried to solve issues which threatened the "workers alliance with the peasants". The system of compulsory quotas for the peasants was liquidated. It had caused, along time, numerous complaints from peasants who accused various administrative abuses: "the economic apparatus who handled this, although instructed to behave carefully, committed abuses. They had the law on their side, they came with the stick, they did not care if the peasant harvested or not. As an immediate effect, except from the discontents, the interest for production decreased, the sowed terrains grew

[24] Ibidem.
[25] Ibidem, *Ședința din 28.IV.1957*, p. 8.
[26] Ibidem, p. 9-10.

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smaller."[27] Gheorghiu-Dej was trying to convince the "German comrades" of his party's wisdom.

At the end, a Common Statement was signed. It reaffirmed the two countries' willingness to continue and develop economic and scientific cooperation, as well as their commitment to militate against West German militarism. Considering their relative international isolation, the East Germans were always very interested in such statements of support, formal as they were. For Ulbricht's regime, it created the appearance of international society.

In 1957, a large delegation of the Grand National Assembly visited the GDR and had many meetings with East German state officials, including prime-minister Heinrich Rau. The basic purpose of the visit was to improve political relations and it was well popularized in the East German press[28]. The Romanian delegates visited many factories and received technical explanations regarding installations and production methods. The hosts organized numerous receptions for the Romanian visitors, on different occasions, but Romanian impressions were not quite favorable. The delegates would later blame the "rigidity" of the Germans who did not permit visits at a number of industrial sites. Such negative impressions appeared especially regarding the automobile factory in Eisenach for which engineer Gheorghe Olteanu expressed a particular interest. Also, Dumitru Coliu, high ranking party member, was interested in visiting the Zeiss factories in Jena and the Thalmann factories in Magdeburg. All these requests were denied by the Germans and their attitude was considered by the Romanian delegation as politically "unfriendly". In the end, though, the visit was considered a success by the Romanians. Their report evaluated the event as a "constructive experience" meant to improve bilateral relations and mutual knowledge[29].

In discussions with East German officials, the situation of the German minority in Romania was rarely raised, but West Germany was much more interested in the issue. In 1959 the so called "trial of German writers" took place. The *Securitate* had discovered many writings with an obvious anti-Communist character signed by writers of German ethnic origin: Andreas Brikner, Wolf von Aichelburg, Georg Scherg, Hans Bergel, and Harald Siegmund. They were accused of forming a "clandestine anti-revolutionary group" and were sentenced in September 1959 to a few tens of years a prison by the Braşov (Stalin) Military Court[30]. The trial took place in the context of a new wave of aggravated repression which started in 1958 and raised attention, in the party leadership, to the "needs of political work" among the Germans in Romania.

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[27] Ibidem, p. 11-12.

[28] AMAE, fond 220, Box Germania 1956. *Raport despre vizita delegaţiei Marii Adunări Naţionale a Republicii Populare Române în Republica Democrată Germană (4-16 septembrie 1957), ataşat la nota Ambasadei RPR din Berlin către MAE Direcţia I Relaţii nr. 7256/12.11.1957.*

[29] Ibidem, p. 19-20.

[30] Hans Bergel, *Procesul scriitorilor germani din România în anul 1959. Perversităţile persistă şi în ziua de azi*, in *Analele Sighet 8. Anii 1954-1960. Fluxurile şi refluxurile stalinismului* ed. by Romulus Rusan), Bucharest, 2000, p. 358-359.

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In November 1959 it was decided to analyze party work among Germans within the regional party committees of Timişoara and Stalin. In March 1960, Nicolae Ceauşescu presided a meeting at the Central Committee with the responsible cadres from these regions[31]. The discussions revealed that the leadership was not satisfied with party work among German communities and that religious influence was still strong, mainly among youngsters. It was considered that the intellectuals were under bourgeois and fascist influence[32]. As seen by party organs, the situation was much more problematic in education, where old teachers had not been replaced. In the CC meeting, proposals also appeared aimed at reducing the number of foreign tourists like West Germans and Austrians. They were seen as a source of revanchist propaganda. Decisions have been made to increase the number and circulation of German language publications to combat the "reactionary" influence of the Church[33].

In November 1960 an East German delegation from the State Council was Romania for a few days and visited several industrial facilities. Also, they had a few meetings with members of the Grand National Assembly[34]. Walter Ulbricht will return Gheorghiu-Dej's visit only in September 1962. Walter Ulbricht was in Bucharest for a few days in June 1960, for the 3rd Congress of the Romanian Workers Party, but his presence in Romania was not considered a state visit. The Romanian – East German cooperation will develop in the following years but GDR was losing its prominent position in Romania's foreign trade, as Bucharest initiated active relations with Western countries.

The Romanian-East German relations will also be affected by the beginning of the integration dispute at CMEA. GDR was a fervent supporter of the concept. Gheorghiu-Dej explained his opposition arguing that the integration would bring advantages to countries like GDR and Czechoslovakia, and disadvantages to lesser developed countries like Romania. As Khrushchev relaxed the Soviet pressure on the satellites, each country was able to assert its own interests, compromising the rigid Stalinist patterns of intra-camp relations. The absence of contacts in the West made intra-camp relations much more intense, but as relations with the West developed, the satellites' need of each other became less stringent. Détente with the West brought in more opportunities. Development was no longer conceived as a common task – as Stalin tried to make it appear – but as an individual task of each regime. This way, a gate was opened for competition between peoples' democracies.

Building the Berlin Wall also changed Ulbricht vision regarding domestic development. Before 1961, he knew that for whatever went wrong in GDR, he could always blame West Germany. After the last brick was put on the wall crossing Berlin, that was no longer possible. Also, escaping to West Berlin was a safety valve for popular discontent. All those unsatisfied with their life under Socialism could simply run to the West, which kept social tension low. Bu that was no longer

[31] ANIC, fond CC al PCR – secţia Cancelarie, file 20/1960. *Stenograma şedinţei din ziua de 29.III.1960*, p. 2.
[32] Ibidem, p. 5-7.
[33] Ibidem, p. 11-13.
[34] Ibidem, file 49/1960. *Notă de audienţă*, p. 264.

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possible either. The need for reforms was now critical. The standards of living needed immediate improvement and propaganda could not substitute it. This is why, after 1961, a radical change happens to Ulbricht. The formerly dogmatic Stalinist becomes an active promoter of economic reforms, surrounding himself with young economists and promoting quality indicators in economic management[35].

Specialization: Romanian Corn for German Toys and Cosmetics

Romania's relations with the GDR developed fast in the previous years because of the German capacity to provide Romania with what it needed for its industrialization. Towards the beginning of the 1960s, though, new providers appeared, just as important for Gheorghiu-Dej's regime. So was the case with West Germany, for example. Romanian-West German relations have developed steadily in the second half of the 1950s and Gheorghiu-Dej was paying special attention to this. Romania had a Trade Agreement with West Germany which contributed to a rapid expansion of mutual trade.

A problem with this Agreement occurred as the second Berlin crisis evolved. GDR intervened in Bucharest requesting certain changes in the document which would fit the political realities of the moment, the way they were seen by Ulbricht. The above-mentioned Trade Agreement specified, among other things, that it was valid for *land Berlin* as well, meaning West Berlin. GDR requested the Romanian government to proceed to modifications in the text excluding West Berlin from its area of validity, given the fact that West Berlin was under dispute at that point. East German authorities made several interventions on this matter along 1961. The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs advised the party leadership to ignore Ulbricht's call for changes, relying on the Bulgarian experience[36]. The Bulgarians respected Ulbricht's wish and asked the West German government for the necessary changes, but the gesture determined Bonn to annul the Trade Agreement with Bulgaria. The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs argued that commercial exchanges with West Germany were far too important to justify such a risk. West Germany held the fourth position in Romania's foreign trade and was a very important source of technology and equipment[37]. In the relations with East and West Germany, therefore, Romania placed economic interest above political obligations.

That was precisely the attitude adopted by East Germans too. Despite its much higher level of development, compared to other peoples' democracies, GDR, starting from 1953, had continued to demand support from other Socialist countries. Using Khrushchev's previous arguments, Ulbricht always stressed out the difference in standards of living, between his country and its "imperialist" neighbor. He insisted that raising the material welfare of East German workers was a political imperative, deriving from GDR's position. Such positions were reiterated in June 1961. Nicolae

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[35] Peter Grieder, *The East German Leadership 1946-1973*, [Manchester], 1999, p. 160-161.
[36] ANIC, fond CC al PCR – secția Cancelarie, file 100/1961. *Notă MAE*, p. 5.
[37] Ibidem, p. 6.

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Ceaușescu received the East German ambassador in Bucharest on which occasion the diplomat did nothing else but complained about the economic difficulties of his country. He emphasized – during his discussion with Ceaușescu – that GDR was expecting support from the other "Socialist" countries. The East German ambassador mentioned in a discreet manner that Ulbricht requested help from Moscow and was advised at the Kremlin to go asking the same thing from other "friendly" countries, as well[38]. When it came to Romania's industrial development, the East Germans were not that modest.

Divergences already appeared at CMEA on issues of integration. Romania had great benefits from cooperation within CMEA, in terms of support for its industrial development. The opposition occurred when CMEA became an obstacle to the continuation of this development. The divergences, which later on lead to a near split in Romanian-Soviet relations had their origin in Khrushchev's proposals regarding CMEA in 1958. Khrushchev initiated a plan for deepening CMEA cooperation in an integrationist direction regarding the so-called "international division of labor". Romania's opposition was facilitated by the Soviet reticence in challenging other Communist parties, considering its difficulties with Yugoslavia, Albania and China. Moscow's efforts to maintain the appearances as well as the more stable and consolidated situation of Gheorghiu-Dej's regime were the key factors which allowed Gheorghiu-Dej to assert his independence the way he did.

The bone of contention in Romania's relation with CMEA and the Socialist countries was the principle of specialization and its implications. The basic idea was that each CMEA member should develop its economy according to its possibilities, resources, and traditions. It was first implemented experimentally in 1956 in the machine building industry. GDR and Czechoslovakia demanded that most of the machineries on the production lists be produced by them, considering their expertise and industrial facilities. Romania strongly disagreed to the limited number of machines allocated to her for production. In June-July 1959, in Prague, the CMEA Permanent Commission of machine-building gathered to discuss the lists and Romania demanded radical changes in the allocation[39]. Later on, the Czechs and East Germans also raised the issue of agriculture in the framework of the specialization debates. The CMEA session in April 1959 decided to have the issue debated in the Permanent Commission on Agriculture. The problem reemerged in February 1960 at the Communist parties Council in Moscow, when Romania opposed the principle of specialization in agriculture[40]. The Czechs and East Germans wanted to specialize in animal husbandry, for which they considered to have optimal conditions, but needed fodder. In their view, Romania and Bulgaria should have provided the fodder, given their excellent conditions for wheat and corn cultures. Bulgarians too wanted to specialize in greeneries and vegetables, which would have left Romania as the sole

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[38] Ibidem, file 30/1961. *Stenograma ședinței Biroului Politic al CC al PMR din ziua de 11 iulie 1961*, p. 7.

[39] Liviu Țăranu, *România și Consiliul de Ajutor Economic Reciproc 1949-1965*, Bucharest, 2007, p. 134-135.

[40] *Ibidem*, p. 137.

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provider of fodder in the camp. Gheorghiu-Dej protested against such an approach. Things did not go far because Khrushchev decided not to encourage the Czech and East German position[41].

The debates started again, on a harsh tone, in May 1960 in Sofia, in the CMEA Permanent Commission on Agriculture. The meeting was called for discussions regarding a more intense cooperation in the field of agriculture, especially exchanges of experience and drawing the basic lines for the future development of agriculture. But the most interesting discussion by far was the one regarding specialization. The issue was insistently raised by the Czechoslovak and East German delegations and the most fervent opponent was Romania. The East German delegation argued that only through specialization, based on the international division of labor, can the agricultural production be increased. In other words, CMEA was called upon to decide what and how much each country was supposed to produce, to serve the necessities of all member countries[42]. Romanian delegate Ion Cozma put up a terrible resistance to these pressures. His arguments were that firstly, each country had a long-term plan of development for the following years, which could not be abated easily and secondly that it was not in the Commission's attributes to discuss matters of economic policy[43]. Bulgarians agreed that specialization was indeed required, but in the field of agricultural machinery. Poles were skeptical of specialization, being more preoccupied with the practical matters of cooperation[44]. The Soviets tried to mediate without taking anybody's side. In private, though, the Soviet delegate told Cozma that he disagrees with Romania's position. Any problem should be open for discussion, he said, not automatically rejected. In spite the Soviet "advise", Cozma continued to oppose debates on the specialization matter, as instructed in Bucharest[45].

In the end, a Protocol was signed mentioning a series of generalities for which a unanimous agreement had been reached: intensifying agricultural cooperation through exchanges of experience, seminars etc. The official purpose was to increase agricultural production in the following years[46]. The Protocol mentioned specialization as a long-term objective of CMEA but the document included the text of the separate opinions expressed by the GDR and Romania[47]. According to these, the East Germans stated their belief that only specialization can increase production

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[41] Dan Cătănuş, *Divergenţele româno-sovietice din CAER şi consecinţele lor asupra politicii externe a României, 1962-1963. I*, "Arhivele totalitarismului, 2005, 1-2, p. 73-74.
[42] ANIC, fond CC al PCR – secţia Cancelarie, file 26/1960. *Stenograma şedinţei din ziua de 16 mai 1960, în legătură cu desfăşurarea lucrărilor Comisiei Permanente CAER în domeniul agriculturii, care a avut loc la Sofia între 12-14 mai 1960*, p. 2.
[43] Ibidem, p. 24-25.
[44] Ibidem, p. 20-21.
[45] Ibidem, p. 29.
[46] Ibidem. *Protocol 7/60 al şedinţei Comisiei Permanente CAER de colaborare economică şi tehnico-ştiinţifică în domeniul agriculturii, care a avut loc la Sofia între 12-14 mai 1960*, p. 5.
[47] Ibidem, p. 7.

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while the Romanian opinion disregarded the issue as premature. Instead, Romania considered that raising productivity was a much more actual problem[48].

A few days after the Romanian delegation had returned home, its members were invited to participate in a Politburo meeting in order to explain and describe the way discussions evolved in Sofia. At that meeting, Gheorghiu-Dej poured a rain of criticism over the idea of specialization. Most of these critics were directed against the East Germans. He considered that the idea of specialization was used by Ulbricht only for GDR's sole benefit, that it was an ideological cover for GDR's own interests, pursued on Romania's back: "the Germans want us to provide them with fodder, in exchange for dolls, toys and cosmetics"[49]. Gheorghiu-Dej was infuriated: "in the future, specialization has no chance to succeed because life itself rejects it, it's impossible to accomplish [...] They went so far with this wrong judgment that their minister of agriculture, a Politburo member, advised us, felt sorry for us that we were thinking about developing animal husbandry, that we're making a mistake. So it's a mistake when we develop animal husbandry, but it's correct when they develop it. They think they have excellent conditions for it, but have no fodder. [...] They rely on international division of labor when they need fodder."[50]

Gheorghiu-Dej's revolt was not directed so much at specialization or international division of labor in principle, but against the practical implementation of such principles. To offer a supranational organ power of decision in issues concerning Romania's development bothered Gheorghiu-Dej, especially considering the fact that he saw that power as serving other countries' interests. The problem was brought up in front of the Central Committee Plenum in May 17-18, 1960, when Romania's position at CMEA and the reasons behind it were explained to all participants. The Plenum expressed its agreement and confirmation for this position[51]. This way, Gheorghiu-Dej was seeking cover against the Soviets: the decision was not his own, but it was made by the Plenum of the Central Committee.

Similar frictions continued to appear in the following period. In 1961, Romania participated at the Spring Fair in Leipzig. The Romanian delegation had the chance to meet several East German governmental officials and discuss the specialization. From their very arrival, different East German officials raised the problem of Romania's opposition to specialization, in their conversations with the Romanians, but the answer they received was cautious: Romania does not oppose specialization, it was argued, but it opposes that particular type of specialization which disregards other countries' interests[52].

In a conversation with the East German minister of agriculture, the head of the Romanian delegation mentioned that Romania has to employ great efforts to catch up with the more developed countries of the "Socialist camp", which caused an

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[48] Ibidem, p. 10.
[49] Ibidem. *Stenograma ședinței din ziua de 16 mai 1960* cit., p. 40.
[50] Ibidem, p. 44-45.
[51] Ibidem, file 28/1960. *Stenograma Plenarei lărgite a Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc Român din 17-18 mai 1960*, p. 6-18.
[52] Ibidem, file 127/1961. *Informare cu privire la unele discuții și observații ale delegației române la târgul de primăvară de la Leipzig*, p. 91.

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amused and ironic reaction from the German. He insisted that Romania had to increase its fodder exports to GDR rather than develop animal husbandry. Meat export is not advantageous, he explained, so Romania is better off not developing animal husbandry, but rely on fodder exports to the GDR[53]. That was precisely the kind of position which had inflamed Gheorghiu-Dej at the above-mentioned Plenum. Another member of the Romanian delegation, V. Steriopol, intervened in the discussion, suggesting that, if the GDR is so interested in fodder imports from Romania, it should at first increase its exports of fertilizers to Romania. East Germany, Steriopol mentioned, was exporting approximately 1 million tones of fertilizers each year, but only 3000 tones were directed to Romania. The East German minister rejected the idea immediately. It was not convenient for the GDR, he said, without explaining why[54].

In the following days, the Romanian delegation met Heinrich Rau, vice-president of the Council of Ministers, with whom discussions evolved in similar terms. Gherasim Popa, member of the Romanian delegation, spoke about increasing Romanian exports from GDR especially in machinery and tools, but Rau strongly rejected the possibility, explaining that the entire production was contracted already[55]. Referring to mutual trade, Heinrich Rau emphasized again his country's interest in importing corn and fodder from Romania. He also added that according to his information, Romania had promised Czechoslovakia large quantities of such products. Reading the transcript of the conversation, Gheorghiu-Dej annotated: "we do have corn... but we don't sell it on toys and cosmetics"[56]. In the end, the discussion was concluded on a conciliatory note: both sides agreed to study further the issue of mutual commercial deliveries, without making any promises.

Romania's industrialization was not seen well by the more developed members of the "Socialist camp" because their economic necessities dictated large imports of agricultural products and raw materials. Also, large export markets for their industrial products were an imperative. Although Moscow finally took GDR's side in the dispute, Romania's opposition at CMEA was not only an expression of Romanian-Soviet disagreements. It had its sources in the competition which was rising up in the "camp" between industrialized countries (like GDR or Czechoslovakia) and less developed countries (like Romania)[57]. Gheorghiu-Dej understood the need to organize an opposition to integrationist plans at CMEA in 1962, at the CMEA Session which took place in June. At that point though, the dispute became a Romanian-Soviet issue, among Khrushchev and Gheorghiu-Dej.

Gheorghiu-Dej met Ulbricht again after the conflict broke out in June 1962, in the fall of that year. In September 1962 Walter Ulbricht lead an East German delegation in a visit to Romania, in response to the similar visit made by Gheorghiu-Dej in 1957. This time, relations were less friendly. According to Paul Niculescu-

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[53] Ibidem, p. 92.
[54] Ibidem.
[55] Ibidem, p. 93-94.
[56] Ibidem, p. 95-96.
[57] Alan H. Smith, *The Planned Economies of Eastern Europe*, Taylor & Francis, 1983, p. 187.

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Mizil, the visit was another attempt to exert pressure on Gheorghiu-Dej in order to give up his position regarding integration[58]. The visit was a complete failure, from this point of view, as it will result later. The final Communiqué mentioned how "impressed" the Germans were of Romania's development and its "remarkable successes" obtained in the previous years[59]. The two countries expressed their common views of international matters and agreed to form common governmental commissions to study the possibilities of further developing economic cooperation[60]. Behind such placid phrases, the fact was that neither side managed to convince the other of anything.

Gheorghiu-Dej continued to pursue his industrialization plans, just as before, while Ulbricht continued his reforms which were going to cost him his position in the party. Khrushchev had tried to reduce the pressure on the satellites so that he could finally rely on stronger allies, in a developed and functional system of Socialist states. In the end, he discovered that he could not count on them at all. His reforms failed because there was an implicit contradiction between the pursuit of national interests and Socialist solidarity in its Soviet interpretation. Gheorghiu-Dej and Ulbricht strongly disagreed with Khrushchev's reforms. One of the most important flaws of Khrushchevism in Eastern Europe was that Moscow did not consult any of the allies before implementing them. Nevertheless, Khrushchev expected all Communist leaders to follow his course, free-willingly. That was an illusion. Both the Romanian and the East German leaders were negatively affected by Khrushchev's reforms and their reaction was to rely mostly on themselves. Ulbricht tried to evade the reforms he was required to implement and put pressure on Khrushchev in the Berlin matter. At his turn, Gheorghiu-Dej maintained the appearances of submission in order to consolidate his regime, both politically and economically. Neither Ulbricht, nor Gheorghiu-Dej supported the transformations envisaged by the Soviet leader. Why, then, did they not coalesce against Khrushchev? The answer to that question is visible in the course of the Romanian-East German relations from 1953 to 1962. Each of them conceived his autonomy on his own. Excessive reliance on Moscow had proved to be hazardous. During Stalin, there was no other option, at least. But now that Khrushchev had loosened the reins, none of them was too eager to establish dependence once again. Ulbricht, just as Gheorghiu-Dej, was interested in his country's domestic development and saw the other peoples' democracies as competitors. They both betrayed Khrushchev, but separately.

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[58] Paul Niculescu-Mizil, *O istorie trăită*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 176.
[59] "Scânteia", September 21, 1962.
[60] Ibidem.

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"Lasst uns zumindest ihren Kindern zu Hilfe eilen!" Die politische Opposition in Ungarn und die polnische Gewerkschaft Solidarität

János Tischler

Keywords: *communist history*; *Hungary*; *political opposition*; *Poland*

Der Beginn der polnischen Krise von 1980/1981 fiel auf einen Zeitpunkt, als in Ungarn das Regime von János Kádár, der im Zuge der blutigen Erstickung der ungarischen Revolution von 1956 durch Moskau an die Macht gekommen war, gerade seinen Höhepunkt überschritten hatte. Damals setzte ein Verfallsprozess ein, der nahezu zehn Jahre andauern und schließlich zum Sturz Kádárs und seiner politischen Ordnung führen sollte. Im Sommer 1979 war die ungarische Regierung – wie bereits 1974/1975 – gezwungen, eine starke Anhebung der Preise für Konsumartikel zu beschließen, der dann weitere folgen sollten. 1979 stiegen die Lebensmittelpreise um nahezu 20 Prozent, das allgemeine Preisniveau erhöhte sich um 9 Prozent. Die zweite Ölkrise rief eine für die ungarische Wirtschaft äußerst nachteilige "Verschlechterung der Warentauschverhältnisse" hervor, d.h. der Unterschied im Preisniveau von Exporten und Importen vergrößerte sich und die Importe wurden immer teuerer. Um dieser Entwicklung entgegenzuwirken war die Regierung damals einerseits gezwungen, den Import mit administrativen Mitteln zu beschränken, andererseits musste sie immer höhere Kredite im Westen aufnehmen. Bereits 1980 betrug die Devisenschuld Ungarns 11,5 Milliarden Dollar, bis 1985 sollte sie auf die riesige Summe von 19,5 Milliarden Dollar anwachsen.

Kádár hatte sich in den Jahren nach 1956 darum bemüht, für Ruhe innerhalb der ungarischen Gesellschaft zu sorgen und sich eine Art politische Legitimität zu verschaffen, indem er – nach einer Phase der gnadenlosen Vergeltung gegenüber den Revolutionären – nicht in das Privatleben der Menschen eingriff und als "Gegenleistung" hierfür eine apolitische Haltung erwartete. Er gewährte den Menschen zudem relativ große Bewegungsfreiheit und garantierte ihnen – was besonders wichtig war – einen kontinuierlichen Anstieg des Lebensniveaus, der auch soziale Sicherheit bot. Nach 1979 bemühte sich die Kádár-Führung darum, den bisherigen Lebensstandard zumindest zu halten – dieses Ziel erhielt von nun an höchste Priorität. Der Kádár'schen Politik verdankte das kommunistische System die Tatsache, dass es bis Mitte der 1980er Jahre vor keine ernsthaften Herausforderungen durch die Gesellschaft gestellt wurde. Trotz der immer markanter hervortretenden Probleme hielt die ungarische Führung die Macht fest in ihren Händen und genoss sogar einen relativ breiten Rückhalt in der Bevölkerung.

Mit dem Bankrott der Politik des extensiven Wachstums traten in Ungarn oppositionelle Kräfte hervor, die die existierende Ordnung immer heftiger

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kritisierten. Die Opposition war allerdings nie einheitlich, sondern spaltete sich in zwei Hauptrichtungen. Die sogenannten Volkstümlichen (Populistischen) Oppositionellen waren der Auffassung, dass man unter den führenden kommunistischen Politikern diejenigen unterstützen müsse, die zu Reformen im Rahmen des Systems bereit seien bzw. die "liberaler" denken würden. Auf diese Weise sei man in der Lage, positiven Einfluss auf die politisch-gesellschaftlichen Prozesse auszuüben. Die sogenannte Demokratische Opposition betrachtete demgegenüber den "polnischen Weg" als Vorbild. Sie ging von der von Adam Michnik Mitte der 1970er Jahre formulierten These aus, gemäß der nicht die Machthaber zu Veränderungen angespornt, sondern gerade unabhängig von ihnen "kleine Inseln der Freiheit" und selbständige Institutionen der Zivilgesellschaft errichtet werden sollten. Diese wollte man schützen und dann schrittweise stärken[1]. (Michnik brachte diese Gedanken, die als "neuer Evolutionismus" bezeichnet wurden, erstmals auf einer Konferenz in Paris zum Ausdruck, die zum 20. Jahrestag der Warschauer und Budapester Ereignisse von 1956 organisiert wurde.)

Die erste bedeutendere Aktion der Opposition erfolgte im Herbst 1979, als ein Brief mit 254 Unterschriften unter anderen auch an Parteichef János Kádár gesandt wurde. In diesem protestierten die Unterzeichner gegen den Strafprozess, den man in Prag gegen die Gründer der tschechoslowakischen Bewegung "Charta 77", darunter auch gegen Václav Havel, angestrengt hatte. In ihrem Brief baten die Oppositionellen – selbstverständlich erfolglos – die ungarische Führung darum, bei den tschechoslowakischen Genossen zugunsten der Bewegung zu intervenieren. Und im Dezember 1979 wurde der "Fonds zur Unterstützung der Armen" (SZETA) gegründet, der zwar nur eine Institution mit bescheidenen Möglichkeiten war, der aber alleine aufgrund seiner Existenz die Führungsgremien der herrschenden Ungarischen Sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei (MSZMP) außerordentlich reizte, da er sich zum Ziel setzte, die offiziell geleugnete[2], in Wirklichkeit aber durchaus existierende Armut in Ungarn zu lindern.

Es sei an dieser Stelle bemerkt, dass das Kádár-Regime den oppositionellen Bewegungen mit relativer Toleranz begegnete. Aufgrund des ständigen Zwanges, Kredite aufzunehmen, musste es nämlich besonders auf seinen internationalen Ruf bzw. auf eine positive Beurteilung im Westen bedacht sein. Gerade deshalb wandte es nur selten grobe Gewalt gegenüber "Andersdenkenden" an. Es verfolgte vielmehr das Prinzip des "kleinsten Übels", dessen Hauptmerkmal es war, jemanden die existentielle Sicherheit zu entziehen – mittels Jobverlust, Publikationsverbot, Verweigerung von akademischen Titeln, Behinderung des beruflichen Fortkommens

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[1] Die vorliegende Studie handelt in erster Linie von der Demokratischen Opposition. Wenn ich vor dem Wort "Opposition" nicht das Attribut "Demokratisch" oder "Volkstümlich" verwende, dann verstehe ich – abhängig vom Kontext – entweder die Demokratische Opposition oder ich mache allgemeine Bemerkungen, die sich auf die gesamte Opposition beziehen. An dieser Stelle sei auch vorangeschickt, dass die Kooperation mit der polnischen Opposition als Berührungspunkt für die verschiedenen ungarischen Oppositionsrichtungen diente und ihnen die Möglichkeit zu gemeinsamen Aktionen eröffnete, insbesondere nach der Einführung des Kriegszustandes in Polen im Dezember 1981.

[2] "Unter unseren sozialistischen Verhältnissen gibt es kein Elend".

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usw. Zu verbüßenden Gefängnisstrafen wurde in den 1980er Jahren kein einziger Oppositioneller verurteilt, kleinere oder größere – auch physische – Belästigungen (Hausdurchsuchungen, Beschlagnahmungen, provokatives Verfolgen) waren dagegen an der Tagesordnung.

I.

János Kádár vertrat bezüglich der polnischen Krise von Anfang an den Standpunkt, dass die Führung der Polnischen Vereinigten Arbeiterpartei (PZPR) diese möglichst mit politischen Mitteln und auf "sozialistische Weise" lösen sollte[3]. Letzteres bedeutete, dass Polen auch weiterhin ein vollständig in den Sowjetblock und Warschauer Pakt (WP) integriertes Land bleiben sollte und musste. Die Anwendung "administrativer Maßnahmen" oder eine militärische Lösung hielt Kádár ausschließlich dann für zulässig, wenn keine friedliche Regelung mehr möglich sein oder das kommunistische System an der Weichsel selbst in existentielle Gefahr geraten sollte. Dies würde nämlich den Fortbestand des gesamten sowjetischen Lagers bedrohen. Im Falle der Notwendigkeit, die Krise mit Mitteln der Gewalt zu bekämpfen, empfahl Kádár, diesen Schritt mit Hilfe "innerer Kräfte", also mittels der Organe der Staatssicherheit, der Armee und der Polizei, zu machen. Eine bewaffnete Intervention der Sowjetunion konnte er sich – im Gegensatz zu den "Hardlinern" in der tschechoslowakischen, ostdeutschen und bulgarischen Führung – nur als letztes Mittel vorstellen, eine Aktion des östlichen Militärbündnisses lehnte er grundsätzlich ab. Nach einer militärischen Intervention müssten die polnischen Kommunisten dann selbst die Lage "konsolidieren", also "alle politischen und gesellschaftlichen Fragen lösen", und zwar so, wie er und seine Genossen das nach 1956 gemacht hätten. Aus eigener Erfahrung wusste er, wie schwer – oder wie viel schwerer – die Sache für denjenigen war, der mit Hilfe sowjetischer Bajonette und gegen sein eigenes Volk an die Macht gelangt war.

Die Ereignisse in Polen brachten die ungarische Führung – innenpolitisch gesehen – in eine angenehme und zugleich unangenehme Situation. Auf der einen Seite konnte sie offen davon sprechen, wie viel besser die Lage in Ungarn sei, denn hier herrsche Ruhe und die Versorgung sei relativ gut. Stolz konnte sie auf die Richtigkeit der Kádár'schen Politik verweisen – was die Propaganda auch nicht versäumte. Ein viertel Jahrhundert nach der „Konterrevolution" von 1956 bot gerade die "polnische Angelegenheit" Kádár eine willkommene Gelegenheit, die Aktivitäten der MSZMP in den vergangenen 25 Jahren positiv zu bilanzieren. Er konnte feststellen, dass er die Fehler, die die polnischen Führer reihenweise und lange Jahre hindurch begangen habe, von ihm und seinen Genossen vermieden worden seien.

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[3] Näheres zur Politik der ungarischen Führung in Bezug auf die polnische Krise siehe János Tischler, *Ungarn und die polnische Krise 1980-1982*, in *Die Wende. Die politische Wende 1989/90 im öffentlichen Diskurs Mittel- und Osteuropas* (Hg. Izabela Surynt, Marek Zybura), Hamburg, 2007, S. 122-143.

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Zugleich beunruhigten die polnischen Ereignisse die MSZMP-Führung aber auch. Im sowjetischen Lager offenbarten sich dadurch nämlich "Funktionsstörungen", die auch eine Herausforderung für die Innenpolitik aller anderen Mitgliedsstaaten bedeuteten. Der Kádár-Zirkel war sich darüber im Klaren, dass es in der Gesellschaft – wenn auch nicht sehr viele – Personen gab, die der Solidarität die Daumen drückten und es begrüßt hätten, wenn das polnische Beispiel auch auf Ungarn übertragen worden wäre. Daher befand es Kádár für notwendig, die Öffentlichkeit zu warnen[4]. Den Veränderungen in Polen stimmten nämlich anfänglich – neben der Humanintelligenz – vor allem die einfachen Fabrikarbeiter zu. Die Polnische Botschaft in Budapest vermerkte so auch, dass seit Herbst 1980 als Zeichen der Solidarität immer frische Blumen auf dem Sockel der Statue von General Bem liegen würden[5]. Darüber hinaus nahmen auch die verschiedenen oppositionellen Aktivitäten im Vergleich zu früher zu. All dies veranlasste die ungarische Führung "zu einer aktiveren Politik und zu größerer Wachsamkeit". Dies ging soweit, dass sich Kádár bei einer Massenveranstaltung im Dezember 1980 zu – von ihm seit langem nicht mehr gewohnten – aggressiven Äußerungen hinreißen ließ. Beispielsweise erklärte er, dass die MSZMP die Errungenschaften des Sozialismus konsequent bewahre und festige und es nicht zulasse, dass die Einheit des Proletarischen Internationalismus zerstört werde[6]. Im Frühling 1981 erklärte er mehrmals in der Öffentlichkeit: "Wir lassen nicht zu, dass irgend jemand mit dem Schicksal des Volkes und des Landes spielt. Damit darf man nicht spielen!"[7] Und bei einer anderen Gelegenheit äußerte er sich folgendermaßen: "In dieser gespannten

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[4] Ungarisches Staatsarchiv, Abteilung für MDP-MSZMP-Akten (im Folgenden MOL), Signatur 288.f.12/217 ő. e.

[5] Polnisches Archiv für Akten der Neuzeit. Zentralkomitee der PZPR, 950/10. Abteilung für Außenpolitik. Aufzeichnungen 1981. Der polnische General Bem war ein Held der ungarischen Revolution von 1848/1849, eine Symbolfigur für die ungarisch-polnische Freundschaft. Am 23. Oktober 1956 waren die Budapester Studenten zu seiner Statue gezogen, um ihre Solidarität mit der polnischen Nation und mit den damaligen Veränderungen in Polen zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Die Bem-Statue wurde auf diese Weise zu einem der wichtigsten Ausgangspunkte der ungarischen Revolution. In der Ära Kádár waren daher alle nicht-offiziellen Versammlungen an der Statue „verdächtig". Diese Zusammenkünfte betrachtete die Macht – übrigens völlig zu Recht – als systemfeindliche Manifestationen. Ausführlich zu den Verbindungslinien zwischen der ungarischen Revolution von 1956 und Polen siehe János Tischler, *Warschau-Budapest 1956*, in "Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte", 17-18/2006 (24. April 2006), S. 16-24.

[6] Vgl. MOL, Signatur 288. f.11/4392 ő. e.

[7] Ausführlicher legte Kádár dies so dar: "Wir sind uns auch bewusst, dass der Sozialismus in Ungarn Feinde hatte und vereinzelt, in stark abnehmendem Maße und sehr zerstreut, auch heute noch hat. Diese können nicht offen auftreten, weil die riesige Mehrheit des Volkes das sozialistische System und die sozialistischen Programme unterstützt. Es gibt Hitzköpfe und Leute, die an Selbstdarstellungssucht leiden und sich zu «herostratischen» Heldentaten anschicken. Sie möchten, da sie zu den gesellschaftlichen Angelegenheiten nichts Positives beitragen können, zumindest durch irgendeine negative Handlung bekannt werden. Es gibt verantwortungslose Menschen, die nicht daran denken, dass die gemeinsame Sache allem vorangeht. Diese Menschen sind in letzter Zeit ein wenig aktiver geworden, [aber nur] vereinzelt und zerstreut. [...] Wir müssen deutlich sagen, dass wir nirgendwo einen destruktiven Angriff auf unsere Errungenschaften zulassen." (MOL, Signatur 288.f.12/217 ő. e.).

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Lage müssen wir unsere Errungenschaften besser würdigen und schützen; und denjenigen, die grimmig sind und hetzen wollen, müssen wir verständlich machen, dass es sich um Errungenschaften des Volkes handelt und wir niemandem erlauben, sich daran zu vergreifen." Damit war zum Beispiel die Universität Szeged gemeint, wo sich damals unter den Hochschülern und Studenten die Praxis verbreitete, dass man sich als Gruß einander einen länglichen Karton mit der Aufschrift "Solidarität" zeigte[8]. Die Kádár'schen Warnungen richteten sich aber vor allem an jene oppositionellen Gruppen im Lande, die Kontakt zur Solidarität suchten.

Die Anfänge der Zusammenarbeit zwischen der polnischen und der ungarischen Opposition reichen einige Jahre weiter zurück, richtig intensiv wurden sie allerdings erst mit der Gründung der Solidarität. Zu einem ersten organisierten Treffen reisten der Schriftsteller Miklós Haraszti und der Wirtschaftshistoriker István Rév im Jahre 1977 nach Warschau, wo sie Kontakt zu Adam Michnik und Ján Lityński aufnahmen. Ein Jahr später besuchte der Literaturhistoriker Iván Bába Michnik bzw. – mittels seiner Person – das Arbeiterschutzkomitee (KOR), das den Angeklagten, denen nach der Unterdrückung der Arbeiterproteste von 1976 der Prozess gemacht wurde, und ihren Familien Hilfe leistete. Anfang 1979 fuhren die Philosophen György Bence und János Kis nach Warschau. Diese Reise diente bereits ausgesprochen dem Ziel, die Beziehungen der polnischen und ungarischen Opposition zu vertiefen, und stand von Anfang an unter polizeilicher Aufsicht. Nach ihrer Heimkehr wurde der ablaufende Pass von János Kis nicht mehr verlängert und der Protest von Kis mit der schablonenhaften Begründung, seine Auslandsreisen würden "das öffentliche Interesse verletzen", zurückgewiesen. Die oben erwähnten Reisen dienten zugleich auch dem Erfahrungsaustausch, so z.B. hinsichtlich der Frage, wie die Anfertigung und Verbreitung von Samisdat-Schriften fachmännisch zu bewerkstelligen sei[9].

Im Mai 1980 erhielt der Jurist Tibor Pákh Informationen darüber, dass in der Kirche des Heiligen Christopherus in Podkowa Leśna bei Warschau eine größere Gruppe von polnischen Dissidenten in einen Hungerstreik getreten waren, um für die Freilassung des Leiters des illegalen Verlages NOWa, Mirosław Chojeckinek, und seine ebenfalls verhafteten Mitstreiter zu demonstrieren. Pákh reiste nach Podkowa, meldete sich bei Pfarrer Tadeusz Kantorski und erklärte, dass er sich "im Geiste des Heiligen Adalbert" der zehntägigen Solidaritäts- und Protestaktion anschließe. Er war der einzige Nicht-Pole unter den 25 Hungerstreikenden[10]. Zur Zeit der Streiks in

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[8] MOL, 288.f.12/217 ő. e. bzw. Archiv der Staatssicherheitsdienste (im Folgenden ÁBTL), Tägliche Operative Informationsberichte (NOIJ), 1980-1988, III/III.

[9] Ervin Csizmadia, *A magyar demokratikus ellenzék (1968-1988). Monográfia*, Budapest, 1995, S. 186.

[10] Tibor Pákh wurde 1960 wegen seiner englisch verfassten Schriften über die Revolution von 1956 sowie wegen der Zusammenstellung einer Namensliste über die Jugendlichen, die aufgrund ihrer Rolle während der Revolution hingerichtet wurden, von einem Militärgericht zu 15 Jahren Gefängnis verurteilt. Im Gefängnis trat er mehrmals in Hungerstreik. Dort versuchte man, ihn mit Elektro- und Insulinschocks sowie mittels Medikamenten zu Aufgabe seiner Aktionen zu veranlassen. 1971 wurde er für geisteskrank erklärt und freigelassen, er war aber weiterhin unter polizeilicher Aufsicht. 1982 untersuchte ihn Professor Charles Durand aus der Schweiz, der gegen

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den polnischen Seehäfen vom August 1980 versuchte eine sechs- bis siebenköpfige ungarische Oppositionsgruppe nach Danzig zu gelangen. Die ungarischen Behörden ließen allerdings nur zwei Personen, die dann an mehreren Aktionen teilnahmen, ausreisen. Nach ihrer Heimkehr wurde der Pass von einem der beiden, nämlich des Kritikers Sándor Szilágyi, für fünf Jahre eingezogen[11]. Der Motor der organisierten Kontakte zwischen der polnischen und der ungarischen Opposition war der Ungar Ákos Engelmayer, der 1956 als junger Aufständischer an der Revolution teilgenommen hatte. Anfang der 1960er Jahre hatte er eine Polin geheiratet und sich in Warschau niedergelassen. Er half nicht nur dabei, sprachliche Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden, sondern machte sich auch besonders beim Informationsaustausch zwischen Warschau und Budapest verdient und nahm gewaltige organisatorische Aufgaben auf sich. Nach der Gründung der Solidarität trat Engelmayer der Gewerkschaft bei. Anfang 1981 kam er zum Presseaufsichtsdienst, der mehrere hundert Personen beschäftigte. Dort wählte man ihn zum Mitglied des örtlichen Ausschusses der Solidarität. Während der landesweiten Streikbereitschaft im Frühjahr leistete er zusammen mit vielen anderen Torwachdienst und trug neben dem Armband in polnischen Nationalfarben auch eines mit den ungarischen. Er befürchtete, dass im Falle einer sowjetischen militärischen Intervention auch ungarische Truppen in Polen einmarschieren würden. In den ersten Monaten des Jahres 1981 besuchte er daher zahlreiche Mittel- und Volksschulen in Warschau und Umgebung, wo er Vorlesungen über die Traditionen der ungarisch-polnischen Freiheitskämpfe hielt. Diese beendete er grundsätzlich mit der Feststellung, dass, sollten nun ungarische Soldaten nach Polen kommen, diese nicht die ungarische Nation vertreten würden, sondern ausschließlich die Kádár'sche Führung[12].

Mit dem Auftreten der polnischen Massenbewegung, die unter dem Namen "Solidarität" bekannt wurde, kam auch die ungarische Demokratische Opposition an eine Art Wegscheide. Da sie bislang über keinerlei konkrete programmatische Zielsetzungen verfügte, musste sie nun irgendein Programm skizzieren, um zu klären, in welche Richtung sie sich überhaupt bewegen wollte. Das Abflauen des Wirtschaftswachstums, das für die 1970er Jahre bezeichnend war, bot der Demokratischen Opposition – die nur über ein äußerst geringes Ansehen und kaum messbare Unterstützung in der Gesellschaft verfügte und selbst in der schmalen

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Missstände in der Psychiatrie kämpfte, und erklärte ihn im Gegensatz zur ungarischen Expertise für geistig gesund.

[11] E. Csizmadia, *op. cit.*, S. 186. Damals gab es zwei Arten von Pässen, einen sogenannten roten, der für die sozialistischen Länder gültig war, und einen blauen für die kapitalistischen Staaten. Den Pass konnte der Staatsbürger – im Gegensatz zur Praxis in anderen kommunistischen Ländern – zuhause aufbewahren. Ihre Repressionsabsichten praktizierte die Macht mittels Ablehnung des Antrages auf Reisepassausstellung, Verweigerung der Passverlängerung bzw. mittels der Möglichkeit, den Pass wieder einzuziehen. Es kam auch vor, dass eine Person den roten, nicht aber den blauen Pass erhielt. Wurde der Pass eingezogen, so bezog sich das auf den roten und – soweit vorhanden – auf den blauen zugleich.

[12] János Tischler, *Az 1980-1981-es lengyel válság és Magyarország a szemtanúk és résztvevők visszaemlékezései alapján*, in *Évkönyv* [Jahrbuch des 1956er Instituts] 10, Budapest 2002, S. 365, S. 372. Engelmayer war auch nach dem Dezember 1981 in der illegalen Solidarität aktiv. Von 1990 bis 1995 sollte er der erste Warschauer Botschafter der Republik Ungarn werden.

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intellektuellen Öffentlichkeit nur einem Teil bekannt war – eine Gelegenheit, ihren Einfluss zu steigern. (Sie versuchte auch, die Arbeiterklasse zu "erreichen", wusste aber, dass das unter den ungarischen Verhältnissen ein irreales Unterfangen war.) Schließlich setzte sich bei den Andersdenkenden die Vorstellung durch, dass die ungarische Opposition das, was die Polen in großem Maßstab machten, in kleinem machen sollte. János Kis äußerte sich diesbezüglich folgendermaßen: "Sie [d.h. die Oppositionellen] schaffen Situationen, in denen die Regierung wählen muss: Entweder mobilisiert sie die Gewaltorganisationen gegen sie oder sie begnügt sich mit milder dosierten Repressionsmaßnahmen, was in einem Land mit sowjetischem System gleichbedeutend damit ist, sie zu dulden."[13] Anders ausgedrückt bedeutete dies, dass die vorrangige Aufgabe der Opposition in Ungarn – im Gegensatz zur Strategie in Polen – nicht die Schaffung und Führung einer Massenbewegung sein sollte[14], sondern das Aufzeigen einer Alternative, einer anderen politischen Kultur und anderer politischer Verhaltensmuster, wie sie das Kádár-System praktizierte. Die Gründung der Solidarität zwang die bis dahin als lockere Gruppe tätige ungarische Opposition dazu, sich irgendeinen rudimentären funktional-institutionellen Rahmen zu geben. In diesem Sinne wurde im Februar 1981 in der Budapester Wohnung des Architekten László Rajk junior[15] die sogenannte Rajk-Boutique eingerichtet, wo neben Samisdat-Schriften zur Situation in Ungarn auch Publikationen der polnischen, tschechischen und russischen Opposition sowie von ungarischen Emigranten vertrieben wurden. Darüber hinaus gab es hier auch Dokumente und Analysen, die sich mit der Situation der magyarischen Minderheit in Rumänien befassten. (Diese betrug nahezu drei Millionen Menschen und wurde durch die Politik von Nicolae Ceauşescu schwer unterdrückt.) Die Zahl der erwerbbaren Publikationen erreichte Ende 1981 bereits mehrere Hundert. Ebenfalls der Institutionalisierung diente auch der von dem Soziologen Gábor Demszky gegründete Unabhängige AB Verlag, die Aktionen der Organisation SZETA sowie die Herausgabe weiterer Samisdat-Periodika. (Über Demszky und die SZETA-Organisation wird im Folgenden noch ausführlicher die Rede sein.) Unter letzteren wurde der *Beszélő* (Sprecher) zur maßgeblichen Zeitschrift. Bis zum Systemwechsel 1989/1990 erschienen von dieser Publikation 27 Ausgaben mit einer Auflage von 2.000 bis 2.500 Stück. Die erste

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[13] E. Csizmadia, *op. cit.*, S. 185.

[14] Da die Gesellschaft noch lange Jahre mit Kádár nicht unzufrieden war, hätte dies auch nicht gelingen können.

[15] László Rajk senior war seit 1939 eine der führenden Persönlichkeiten der ungarischen kommunistischen Bewegung. Als Innenminister spielte er eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Liquidierung des demokratischen Experiments nach 1945 bzw. bei der kommunistischen Machtübernahme. 1949 wurde er zu einem emblematischen Opfer der parteiinternen Säuberungen: Parteichef Mátyás Rákosi, der sich selbst als "bester ungarischer Schüler Stalins" bezeichnete, strengte einen Schauprozess gegen ihn an. Unter falschen Anschuldigungen verhaftet, wurde Rajk noch 1949 hingerichtet. Seine Rehabilitierung und Wiederbestattung im Oktober 1956 stellte ein Vorspiel der ungarischen Revolution dar. Wegen des Schicksals von Rajk, in dessen Prozess auch Kádár eine – wenig ruhmreiche – Rolle gespielt hatte, genossen seine – im Sommer 1981 verstorbene – Witwe und auch sein Sohn, László Rajk junior, eine gewisse Art Schutz, obwohl beide Kritiker des Kádár-Regimes waren. Aufgrund dieser Situation nahm es Rajk auf sich, eine Samisdat-Boutique zu eröffnen.

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Ausgabe des *Beszélő* wurde unmittelbar vor der Einführung des Kriegszustandes in Polen im Dezember 1981 veröffentlicht. (Die Ausgabe war allerdings auf den Oktober datiert, um damit die Kontinuität zur ungarischen Revolution von 1956 zum Ausdruck zu bringen.)[16]

II.

Die Äußerungen Kádárs aus den Jahren 1980/1981, die abschreckende Wirkung haben sollten, hielten die ungarischen Andersdenkenden nicht davon ab, das einen friedlichen Freiheitskampf führende Polen zu besuchen. Im Januar 1981 reisten der Wirtschaftswissenschaftler Pál Juhász, Mitarbeiter am Budapester Institut für Genossenschaftsforschung, und ein Begleiter sowie der Soziologe Bálint Magyar, Wissenschaftler am Institut für Weltwirtschaft, nach Warschau. Sie führten lange, vor allem wirtschaftspolitische Themen betreffende Gespräche mit den Hauptakteuren aller "frischen politischen Richtungen", darunter mit den Leitern der hauptstädtischen Organisation der Solidarität, mit einigen sogenannten Reformkommunisten sowie mit der Führung der "Bauernsolidarität". Die Treffen fanden regelmäßig an öffentlichen Orten statt. Den Ungarn folgten dabei – ganz ohne Tarnung und überall hin – zwei Funktionäre der polnischen Staatssicherheit. Die Besucher ließen sich allerdings davon überhaupt nicht beeindrucken, was zur Folge hatte, dass der Geheimpolizei am achte Tag der "Kragen platzte": Sie nahm Juhász und seinem Kollegen den Pass weg und versahen diese mit einem Stempel, der vermerkte, dass ihr Aufenthaltsvisum abgelaufen sei – wobei die Pikanterie der Sache darin lag, dass ungarische Staatsbürger in Polen überhaupt kein Visum benötigten. Schließlich wurden sie in Begleitung der Polizei in das erste Flugzeug nach Budapest gesetzt. Bálint Magyar wurde am nächsten Tag ebenfalls des Landes verwiesen. Zurück in Ungarn wurden die Pässe von Juhász und Magyar eingezogen, letzterer verlor zudem seine Anstellung. Beide wurden beschuldigt, "Kontakt zu Organen und Personen zu suchen und aufzunehmen, die gegenwärtig und auch in nächster Zukunft einer Tätigkeit nachgehen, die die Freundschaft der beiden Völker gefährdet und damit die Gegensätze verschärft." Nach einer kleineren Protestaktion von Ökonomen fand Magyar nach einiger Zeit eine Anstellung am Institut für Genossenschaftsforschung. Dessen Direktor hatte sich bereits zuvor gegen die Entlassung von Juhász und seines Kollegen gestellt. Antal Gyenes, der sich in der Zwischenkriegszeit der – damals noch illegalen – kommunistischen Bewegung angeschlossen hatte, stimmte natürlich den Ansichten der Oppositionellen nicht zu, er betrachtete sie vielmehr als Gegner. Er hielt es aber für ehrlos, jemanden aus politischen Gründen arbeitslos zu machen, da er selbst dieses Schicksal vor 1945 und

[16] Der *Beszélő* schenkte, ebenso wie auch die anderen ungarischen Samisdat-Zeitschriften, den aktuellen Ereignissen in Polen besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Gleichzeitig wurden auch in Polen, vor allem in den Untergrundpublikationen *Krytyka*, *Arka* und *Obóz*, regelmäßig "ungarische" Artikel veröffentlicht sowie der ungarischen Emigrantenliteratur ein Forum eröffnet.

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in der Ära Rákosi, also in der stalinistischen Zeit in Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte der 1950er Jahre, mehrmals zu erleiden gehabt hatte[17].

Der bereits erwähnte Gábor Demszky machte sich im Mai 1981 auf den Weg, um sich von seinen Bekannten bei der Solidarität die wichtigsten Techniken zur Herstellung von Samisdat-Literatur anzueignen und um die Funktionsweise der polnischen "zweiten Gesellschaft" kennen zu lernen. Er verbrachte einige Wochen in Polen, vor allem in Wrocław (Breslau) und Warschau, lernte dabei verschiedene Drucktechniken, die Kniffe der Papierbeschaffung und die Organisation eines Verteilernetzes. Nach seiner Heimkehr trug er im Rahmen der illegalen, nach dem Muster der polnischen "fliegenden Universität" organisierten sogenannten Freien Montagsuniversität einen Erlebnisbericht mit dem Titel "*Ad Nova*" vor. Die polnische Lehrreise Demszkys war ganz von seiner Absicht geprägt, mit seiner bisherigen Existenz als in den offiziellen Institutionen integrierter Intellektueller zu brechen: Er verzichtete auf die offizielle Öffentlichkeit bzw. auf die Publikation in den offiziellen Medien, auf legale Arbeitsmöglichkeiten und auf Auslandsreisen und ging bewusst zu einer Lebensweise als Oppositioneller über. Gerade der Aufenthalt in Polen bestärkte ihn darin, dass die Opposition eine praktikable Daseinsform darstelle. Im Zuge einer halbjährigen organisatorischen Tätigkeit schuf er den ersten Samisdat-Verlag in Ungarn und publizierte von da an nahezu ein Jahrzehnt lang zensurfreie Presseprodukte und Bücher[18]. Debütband des Unabhängigen AB Verlages in den ersten Monaten des Jahres 1982 war eine dreiteilige Quellensammlung mit dem Titel "Dokumente des polnischen Widerstandes".

Der Sommer 1981 führte nicht nur zu einer weiteren Verschärfung der polnischen Krise, sondern stellte die zuständige Abteilung der MSZMP und die ungarischen Polizeibehörden auch vor – damit verbundene – besondere innenpolitische Aufgaben. Zu dieser Zeit fand nämlich die größte Solidaritätsaktion der ungarischen Opposition für Polen in diesem Jahr statt: Die SZETA-Mitarbeiter organisierten nach gründlicher Vorbereitung im Juli 1981 am Plattensee ein zweiwöchiges Ferienlager für eine 24-köpfige polnische Kindergruppe. Zur Durchführung der Initiative sammelte die Organisation im Rahmen von Spendenkollekten 80.000 Forint. (Da lediglich 60.000 Forint notwendig gewesen waren, blieb noch Geld für Geschenkpakete.) Außerdem boten drei Personen ihre Sommerhäuser an, um die Kinder unterzubringen. Die SZETA-Mitarbeiter hatten ursprünglich an eine institutionalisierte Aktion in großem Maßstab gedacht: Mittels des Ungarischen Roten Kreuzes (URK) sollte eine Sammlung durchgeführt werden, um so Geld- und Lebensmittelhilfen nach Polen schicken zu können. Einer der Leiter des URK belehrte in seinem Antwortschreiben allerdings die Initiatoren, dass seine Institution "keine negative Differenzierung zwischen Hilfsbedürftigen und Hilfsbedürftigen treffe. Daher verkünde sie ihre Solidaritätsaktionen für

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[17] J. Tischler, *Az 1980-1981-es lengyel válság*, S. 366-367 und *Beszélő. Összkiadás* [Gesamtausgabe der Zeitschrift Beszélő (Sprecher)], Bd. 1: *1981-1984*, Budapest 1992 (im Folgenden Beszélő), S. 200-203.

[18] J. Tischler, *op. cit.*, S. 367-368.

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hilfsbedürftige Völker auch nicht so, dass sie zwischen Nationen unterscheide"[19]. Nach dieser – etwas verklausulierten – Ablehnung begannen die SZETA-Organisatoren damit, ein bescheideneres Programm für ein Kinderferienlager zu verwirklichen. Den Warschauer Teil der Organisationsarbeit erledigte Demszky während seines dortigen Aufenthalts im Mai 1981. Er ging zum Ortsverband der Solidarität in Mazóvia, der auch für Warschau zuständig war, und ließ sich von den dortigen Pädagogen und Mitarbeitern der Familienfürsorge bei der Auswahl der Kinder helfen. Die 10- bis 15jährigen Kinder stammten aus den bedürftigsten Kreisen, insbesondere auf Arbeiter- und Angestelltenfamilien (Bauern, Fabrikarbeiter, Eisenbahner, Maler, Fach- und Hilfsarbeiter sowie Büroangestellte) mit vielen Kindern.

Die Gruppe wurde von drei Erwachsenen begleitet. Ihre Leiterin war die – laut Beurteilung der ungarischen Polizeiorgane – "rechtsextrem eingestellte" Anna Grabowska-Rikielna, die Leiterin des Sekretariat der Solidarität in Mazóvia. Zu den Begleitern gehörte auch ein Vertreter des Arbeiterschutzkomitees. Laut einem "Informationsbericht" für die MSZMP-Führung wollten die SZETA-Organisatoren mit der Aktion "eine aktive Solidaritätsbekundung für die polnische Opposition und eine Verstärkung der in- und ausländischen Propaganda" erreichen. Für die Verfasser des Berichts ging dies deutlich daraus hervor, dass die polnische Kindergruppe, in der jedes Kind "eine Mütze und ein Trikot mit der Aufschrift 'Solidarnosc' trug und eine Tasche mit derselben Aufschrift hatte", am 10. Juli auf dem Budapester Flughafen "von 25 bis 30 bekannten Oppositionellen empfangen wurde" und "an der Durchführung neben SZETA-Mitarbeitern 40 Personen, die für ihre feindlich-oppositionellen Aktivitäten bekannt" waren, aktiv teilnahmen[20]. Die Gruppe wurde in Kékkút am Plattensee in den Sommerhäusern des Kameramanns János Kende und des Architekten Tamás Erőss untergebracht. Die älteren Bewohner des Ortes freuten sich über die polnischen Kinder und brachten ihnen regelmäßig Obst und Gemüse, insbesondere nachdem sie in Erfahrung gebracht hatten, dass vom Herbst 1939 bis gegen Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges in zahlreichen Ortschaften am Plattensee Flüchtlinge aus Polen untergebracht waren, die nach dem deutsch-sowjetischen Überfall auf ihre Heimat in Ungarn Schutz gesucht und gefunden hatten. Das Programm des Sommerlagers war ungezwungen. Es waren Baden, Ausflüge und eine Budapester Stadtbesichtigung vorgesehen. Währenddessen schikanierten die Behörden die ungarischen Organisatoren ständig unter dem Vorwand, dass sie die Gesundheitsvorschriften nicht einhalten würden. Zudem verlangte die Polizei mehrmals täglich ihre Ausweise[21]. Dennoch konnte das Sommerlager erfolgreich abgeschlossen werden. Bei ihrer Abreise bekamen die polnischen Kinder Pakete mit Lebens- und Waschmitteln, "gegen deren Ausfuhr die ungarischen Zollorgane keinen Einspruch" erhoben.

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[19] *Beszélő*, S. 33.
[20] MOL, Signatur, 288. f., 11/4400 ő. e.
[21] *Beszélő*, S. 34.

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Im erwähnten Informationsbericht wurde nicht versäumt zu betonen, dass "die Leiter der Organisation SZETA mittels ihrer Beziehungen die westlichen Massenmedien über die Aktion informiert" hätten. Das Ziel ihrer Propaganda sei es, "zu beweisen, dass die Bevölkerung und die Jugend die Ferienlager-Aktion aktiv unterstütze. Dies solle eine breite Zustimmung zu den oppositionellen Zielen des Unterstützungsfonds offenbaren." Repressionen konnten schließlich nicht ausbleiben: Das Ferienlager wurde auch von Ausländern aufgesucht. Von diesen wurden ein polnischer, ein französischer und ein schweizerischer Staatsbürger "wegen provokativem Verhaltens" ausgewiesen[22]. Der Pole war Wojciech Maziarski, ein Student des Faches Ungarisch an der Budapester Universität, der als Dolmetscher bei der Durchführung des Ferienlagers geholfen hatte. Ihm wurde kaum Zeit gelassen, um zusammenzupacken. Anschließend brachte ihn ein ungarisches Polizeiauto auf den Budapester Flughafen und setzte ihn in ein Flugzeug, das in Richtung Warschau startete. Einer der Polizisten verabschiedete sich von ihm mit den Worten: "In Polen kannst Du eine Gewerkschaft machen, hier aber nicht!". Von den Organisatoren des Ferienlagers wurde vor allem Demszky bestraft: Wegen den Vorbereitungen in Warschau verlor er seine Anstellung und sein Pass wurde endgültig eingezogen. Auch die Regisseurin Ágnes Háy und der Ökonom György Krassó, die beide ebenfalls eine aktive Rolle gespielt hatten, verloren ihre Pässe[23].

Innenpolitisch legte die Kádár'sche Führung in der "polnischen Frage" bis Ende Sommer 1981 eine lavierende Haltung an den Tage. In der Regel ließ sie die Unterstützungs- und Sympathieaktionen der ungarischen Oppositionellen zugunsten der Solidarität nicht ohne Antwort, die Strafen fielen allerdings milde aus. Ein augenfälliges Beispiel hierfür die das Ferienlager selbst, denn die Staats- und Polizeiorgane hätten – wenn es hierzu einen politischen Willen gegeben hätte – die ganze Aktion bereits im Keim ersticken können, wählten aber dennoch lieber ein permanentes störendes "Begleiten". Das Verhalten der Behörden nahm teilweise rhapsodischen Charakter an. Ein gutes Beispiel hierfür ist die Sache mit der Literaturzeitschrift *Tiszatáj* (Theißlandschaft). Im Herbst 1980 beschlossen der Literaturhistoriker Csaba Gy. Kiss, der der Volkstümlichen Opposition nahestand, sowie der Dichter und Polenexperte István Kovács, für *Tiszatáj* eine polnische Nummer zu schreiben. (Die Zeitschrift veröffentlichte von Zeit zu Zeit sowieso eine Zusammenfassung über die Literatur in Ostmitteleuropa und eine polnische Nummer war letztmals 1976 erschienen.) Anfang 1981 war die thematische Auswahl auch fertig. Da es zwischenzeitlich aber zu ernsthaften Konflikten zwischen der Macht und der Solidarität gekommen war, bat der Herausgeber, man solle die Ausgabe nicht "Polnische Zusammenstellung", sondern – viel neutraler – "Krakauer Zusammenstellung" nennen. Dies geschah auch. Die Nummer erschien und war schnell vergeben. Hierfür bekam die gesamte Redaktion allerdings ein Disziplinarverfahren. Als der stellvertretende Kultusminister dieses verhängte, konnte er hierfür keine konkrete Begründung geben. Er äußerte nur soviel, dass die

[22] MOL, Signatur, 288.f., 11/4400 ő. e.
[23] *Beszélő*, S. 55-56.

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Zeitschrift einen "veröffentlichungspolitischen Fehler" begangen habe. "Genossen", so wiederholte er sich, "das polnische Material ist zu umfangreich"[24].

Die zweite Geschichte steht ebenfalls mit István Kovács in Verbindung. Im Juni 1981 reiste er in Begleitung des Dichters Sándor Csoóri, einer Führungspersönlichkeit der Volkstümlichen Opposition, nach Krakau. Gerade als sie sich dort befanden, veranstaltete die Solidarität eine Massenkundgebung mit nahezu 100.000 Anwesenden. Hauptredner war Lech Wałęsa, dem nach seiner Rede Fragen gestellt werden konnten. Auf den beiden Seiten der Bühne stand jeweils eine Person, die Zettel in Empfang nahm, auf denen die Fragen aufgeschrieben waren, und diese an Wałęsa weiterreichte. Csoóri war der Meinung, dass der Masse gezeigt werden müsse, dass auch Ungarn anwesend seien. Er stellte die Frage, welche Meinung Wałęsa über die Ungarn habe und was er über die historischen Beziehungen der beiden Nationen denke. Diese übersetzte Kovács ins Polnische und schickte den Zettel auf die Bühne. Als einer der Gehilfen die Frage vorlas, brach ein riesiger Applaus aus: Die Masse erfuhr nämlich so davon, dass sich Ungarn, die mit ihr solidarisch waren, unter den Anwesenden befanden. Wałęsa antwortete einige Sätze und als er 1956 erwähnte, applaudierte die Masse noch heftiger. Damit drückte die polnische Bevölkerung ihre besondere Sympathie für die Ungarn aus[25].

Mit den Folgen der Übersetzung der Fragen an Wałęsa wurde István Kovács bei seiner nächsten Reise konfrontiert. Im Mai 1982 wurde er an der ungarisch-tschechoslowakischen Grenze aus dem Autobus geholt und ihm der Reisepass abgenommen. Kovács bat die Behörden schriftlich um eine Erklärung und seine Freunde sorgten dafür, dass die Angelegenheit in Madrid vor die damals stattfindende Konferenz für Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit, auf der die Menschenrechte gerade besondere Aufmerksamkeit erfuhren, gelangte. Dort wurde der Vorfall auch auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt, worüber Radio Freies Europa in München berichtete. Kovács wurde daraufhin ins Innenministerium vorgeladen. Er bekam seinen Pass zurück. Gleichzeitig wurde ihm mitgeteilt, er könne überall hin reisen, dürfe aber die ungarische Grenze nicht nach Norden, also in Richtung Polen, überschreiten. Die Behörde fügte außerdem hinzu, dass all dies auf polnisches Verlangen geschehe. Bezüglich letzterem erkundigte sich Kovács beim polnischen Botschafter in Budapest. Dieser versicherte ihm, dass die polnische Seite mit dem Ganzen nichts zu tun habe, und belegte dies mit der Feststellung, dass er in Kürze mit dem Orden "Für die Polnische Kultur" ausgezeichnet werde[26].

Die "Polenpolitik" der ungarischen Führung wurde ab September 1980 sichtlich nervöser. Damals hielt die Solidarität nämlich ihren ersten Kongress ab, auf dem eine "Botschaft" an die osteuropäischen Arbeiter – mittels allgemeiner Proklamation – angenommen wurde. Darin wurden diejenigen unterstützt, die den Beschluss gefasst hatten, "den schweren Weg der Bildung unabhängiger Gewerkschaften einzuschlagen" in der Hoffnung, dass sich ihre "Repräsentanten

[24] J. Tischler, *op. cit.*, S. 369-370.
[25] Ebenda, S. 368-369.
[26] Ebenda, S. 386-387.

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treffen und ihre Erfahrungen mit der Gewerkschaftsarbeit austauschen" können[27]. Auf die Botschaft reagierten die Führungen aller kommunistischen Länder mit hysterischen Zornausbrüchen. In Moskau erklärte man den Kongress geradewegs zu einer "antisozialistischen und antisowjetischen Orgie". Vor diesem Hintergrund geschah es auch erstmals, dass Kádár einen Brief, in dem er eine Art Druck ausübte, an die Führer der polnischen Bruderpartei richtete. In seinem Schreiben forderte er Warschau zu einem entschiedenen "offenen und konsequenten Auftreten gegen die Feinde des Sozialismus" auf. Er schrieb: "Wir sind der Meinung, dass es eine besonders dringliche Aufgabe ist, unter Vereinigung, Mobilisierung und aktivem Auftreten der polnischen Kommunisten, der wirklichen polnischen Patrioten und derjenigen Kräften, die bereit sind, für die sozialistische Entfaltung zu handeln, der Konterrevolution den Weg zu versperren."[28] In Ungarn wurde von Anfang an eine aktive Propaganda gegen die Solidarität betrieben. Diese wurde ab Herbst 1981 ausgeweitet und entwickelte sich zu einer allgemeinen antipolnische Kampagne, auch um ein Ausgreifen der "polnischen Infektion" auf Ungarn zu verhindern. Selbst wenn die Unzufriedenheit mit dem System für das Regime in Ungarn keineswegs gefährliche Ausmaße annahm, konnten Kádár und sein Zirkel die "Erlebnisse von 1956", als sie ihre prägenden politischen Erfahrungen sammelten, nicht vergessen. So hatte sich in ihr Gedächtnis auch eingeprägt, dass die Revolution in Ungarn mit einer Sympathiedemonstration für die Veränderungen in Polen begonnen hatte und es die Polen waren, die den Aufständischen als Erste mit Lieferungen von Lebensmitteln und Blutkonserven zu Hilfe gekommen waren. (In den Tagen der Revolution war dies die größte Hilfe, die Ungarn aus dem Ausland erhielt.) Damit ist zu erklären, dass die ungarische Führung auf die Resonanz, die die polnischen Ereignisse von 1980/1981 in der ungarischen Gesellschaft fanden, deutlich überreagierte und selbst die Möglichkeit irgendeiner "gesamtnationalen" Solidarität mit den Polen von vorneherein verhindern wollte. Sie fürchtete nämlich, dass dies unweigerlich zu einer mentalen Verbindung der beiden Ereignisse führen würde. Die Kádár´sche Macht versuchte einerseits, an die Vorurteile der Menschen zu appellieren, andererseits mobilisierte sie ihren Egoismus. Zwei Botschaften wurden der ungarischen Gesellschaft dementsprechend übermittelt: 1) In Polen gäbe es daher so viele Streiks, weil die Polen – im Gegensatz zu den Ungarn – nicht gerne arbeiten würden; 2) den Preis hierfür müsse Ungarn zahlen, da es wegen der Streiks an der Weichsel zum wirtschaftlichen Bankrott komme, und man dann gezwungen sei, "Bruderhilfe zu leisten"; diese ginge damit einher, dass der Lebensstandard in Ungarn auf polnisches Niveau absinke. Während die ungarische Bevölkerung der kommunistischen Propaganda im Allgemeinen nicht glaubte, dachte die Mehrheit in diesem Falle, dass es tatsächlich so sei[29]. Die böswillige und gemeine Kampagne fiel auch deshalb auf fruchtbaren Boden, weil der Kádár-Zirkel der Gesellschaft Glauben machte, dass viele Ungarn im Falle eines Umsturzes in Polen etwas zu verlieren hätten.

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[27] Népszabadság, 27. September 1981.
[28] MOL, Signatur, 288.f.11/4400 ő. e.
[29] J. Tischler, *Az 1980-1981-es lengyel válság*, S. 381-382.

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Der strengere Kurs Kádárs wirkte sich auch auf das Verhalten der Sicherheitsorgane gegenüber den ungarischen Oppositionellen aus. Dies lag insbesondere auch daran, dass sich der 25. Jahrestag der Revolution von 1956 näherte und das Regime diesem mit nahezu panischer Furcht entgegenblickte.

Tibor Pákh, der gerade wegen seiner Aktivitäten in Verbindung mit der Revolution von 1956 zu elf Jahren Gefängnis verurteilt worden war, machte sich Anfang Oktober 1981 erneut auf den Weg nach Polen. An der ungarisch-tschechoslowakischen Grenze schafften ihn die ungarischen Behörden aus dem Zug nach Warschau und nahmen ihm seinen Pass ab. Wegen dieses Vorgehens erhob Pákh Klage vor der Obersten Staatsanwaltschaft und trat aus Protest in den Hungerstreik. Drei Tage später brachte ihn die Polizei mit Gewalt in eine Nervenheilanstalt. Dort unterzog man ihn – unter Berufung auf seine angebliche Geisteskrankheit – medizinischen Zwangsmaßnahmen und er wurde künstlich ernährt. (Man vergesse nicht, dass dies in der Sowjetunion eine "bewährte" Praxis gegenüber Regimekritikern war.) Gegen die Einsperrung und psychiatrische Behandlung von Pákh erhoben 57 ungarische und ausländische Intellektuelle in einer Erklärung ihr Wort. Diese wurde von Radio Freies Europa verlesen. Hierauf wurde Pákh zweieinhalb Wochen später entlassen, seinen Pass bekam er allerdings nicht wieder zurück. Ein Jahr später versuchte Pákh erneut, mittels eines Hungerstreiks die Aufmerksamkeit auf verschiedene Rechtsverletzungen des Kádár-Regimes zu lenken. Die Staatsmacht unterzog ihn darauf erneut einer medizinischen Zwangsbehandlung. Die Nachricht hierüber gelangte ebenfalls schnell ins Ausland. Über den Vorfall berichteten auch mehrere illegale Publikationen in Polen. Dort erschienen auch Solidaritätserklärungen. Eine davon trug den Titel "Budapester Aufruf". Infolge der Proteste im Ausland wurde Pákh erneut auf freien Fuß gesetzt[30].

III.

Die Einführung des Kriegsrechts in Polen am 13. Dezember 1981 wurde von Kádár und seinen Genossen mit Erleichterung aufgenommen. Ihnen erschien es nämlich so, dass damit – und mit dem Beginn des "Ordnungschaffens" durch die Sicherheitsorgane unter General Wojciech Jaruzelski – die Krise behoben bzw. die Gefahr einer sowjetischen Intervention abgewehrt werden konnte. Was die ungarische Gesellschaft betraf, so reagierte diese zumeist ebenfalls mit "Beruhigung" auf die Nachricht des Kriegszustandes. Die Mehrheit bewertete diesen – entsprechend der offiziellen Formulierung – als "unvermeidbaren Schritt, als gut koordinierte und mit Sachverstand durchgeführte Aktion", die man bereits Monate früher hätte durchführen sollen[31]. Die – deklarierte – Polenfeindlichkeit nahm sofort ab. Man konnte jetzt eher hören (oder musste vielleicht sagen), dass es die Polen von nun an verdienen würden, Wirtschaftshilfe zu bekommen. Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Menschen – gemeint sind damit diejenigen, die tatsächlich eine eigene

[30] *Beszélő*, S. 80-83 und J. Tischler, *op. cit.*, S. 371-372.
[31] MOL, Signatur, 288. f.5/847 ő.e. und 58/11 ő. e.

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Meinung hatten und sich nicht nur der allgemeinen Meinung anschlossen – nahm an, dass, wenn an der Weichsel endlich Ordnung herrsche, dann das Leben auch in Ungarn leichter werde.

Die ungarische Opposition hingegen schockierte der 13. Dezember 1981. Viele Andersdenkende waren nun der Meinung, dass erneut ein Zustand der Hoffnungslosigkeit eintrete. Nach dem bewaffneten Aufstand in Ungarn 1956 und den Reformmöglichkeiten des "Prager Frühlings" von 1968 sei jetzt auch die "polnische Alternative" ausgeschlossen. Es bleibe also bloß der Kádárismus. Es gab eine nicht geringe Zahl von Personen, die nach all dem aus der Opposition ausschieden und sich auch später nicht mehr an ihren Aktionen beteiligten. Trotz der Trauerstimmung gab es aber auch eine ansehnliche Zahl von Menschen, die in der einen oder anderen Form gegen den Schritt von Jaruzelski protestierten. Sie sprachen – wie aus Parteidokumenten hervorgeht – zum Beispiel von einem "Militärputsch", von "polnischer Junta" und von der "Verletzung der Menschenrechte". Außerdem stellten sie Hunderte von – so die Machthaber – "antikommunistischen Flugblättern mit feindlichem Tonfall und unter Fälschung der Ereignisse in Polen" her und brachten überall in der Hauptstadt Aufkleber mit der Aufschrift "Solidarnosc" an.[32] Es gab aber auch Personen, die noch mehr unternehmen wollten. In den Tagen vor Weihnachten 1981 erschienen – worüber auch Radio Freies Europa berichtete – maschinengeschriebene Flugblätter in Budapest, die von zehn bekannten Oppositionellen, darunter auch einige SZETA-Mitglieder, unterzeichnet waren und die Bevölkerung dazu aufriefen, sich an Hilfen für das polnische Volk zu beteiligen: "In Polen, das anderthalb Jahre einen hoffnungsvollen Kampf für die demokratische Erneuerung gefochten hat, sind heute Verletzte, Trauernde und Zehntausende von zerbrochenen, armen Familien mit den neuen Herausforderungen eines harten Winters konfrontiert. Es würde die endgültige Aufgabe einer Jahrhunderte langen Freundschaft und unserer gemeinsamen nationalen Traditionen bedeuten, wenn wir Ungarn es in dieser tragischen Situation versäumen würden, unseren polnischen Brüdern unser Mitgefühl auszudrücken. Lasst uns zumindest ihren Kindern zu Hilfe eilen! Wir bitten alle, die in der Lage sind, polnische Arbeiterkinder zu beherbergen oder sich an den Kosten für ihre Versorgung oder Reise zu beteiligen, sich an die im Aufruf angegebenen Adressen zu wenden. Wir beabsichtigen, die polnische Kirche darum zu bitten, die Reise der bedürftigsten Kinder vorzubereiten. Wir bitten auch um Meldung derjenigen, die beabsichtigen, Geschenkpakete nach Polen zu senden!"[33]

Die ungarische Führung beschloss daraufhin, der oppositionellen Initiative zuvorzukommen und diese damit zu verhindern. (Etwas derartiges war bereits einmal zuvor geschehen, als sie eine geplante Aktion der SZETA-Organisatoren dadurch verhinderte, dass sie diese in einen offiziellen Rahmen "einspannte".[34]) Dementsprechend machte das Ungarische Rote Kreuz gleich nach den Weihnachtsfeiertagen in einer öffentlichen Mitteilung bekannt, dass es sich "mit

[32] MOL, Signatur, 288. f.11/4402 ő.e. und ÁBTL, NOIJ, 1980-1988, III/III und O-18565.
[33] *Beszélő*, S. 104-105.
[34] MOL, Signatur, 288. f., 11/4403 ö. e.

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einer umfangreichen Sendung dem Aufruf der Liga der Rotkreuzgesellschaften zur Unterstützung der Aktivitäten der polnischen Bruderorganisation" anschließe und erklärte gleichzeitig auch, dass es "ein Bankkonto zur Sammlung privater Spenden" einrichte[35]. Die Leiter der Organisation kamen auf diese Weise den Wünschen der politischen Führung ohne besondere Bedenken entgegen und warfen mit einer Handbewegung die – angeblichen – Grundprinzipien des URK über Bord. ("Wir treffen keine negative Differenzierung zwischen Hilfsbedürftigen und Hilfsbedürftigen!" – mit dieser Feststellung hatte das URK ein halbes Jahr zuvor die Anfrage der SZETA-Mitarbeiter abgeblockt, auf einem Sonderkonto für die Polen zu Spenden sammeln.) Nach diesem Schritt des URK hatte die Opposition keine andere Wahl, als in der zweiten Nummer des *Beszélő* vom Januar 1982 ihren eigenen Aufruf durch folgenden Zusatz zu ergänzen: "Wir machen Personen, die Geschenkpakete senden wollen, auf die Hilfsaktion des Ungarischen Roten Kreuzes für Polen vom 28. Dezember aufmerksam."[36] Die Opposition, die in der Gesellschaft sowieso nur wenig verwurzelt war, schätzte richtig ein, dass die Hilfe für die Polen die wichtigere Aufgabe war, auch wenn diese jetzt offiziellen Charakter erhalten hatte. In kommunistischen Ländern wählen die Menschen lieber und häufiger staatliche Institutionen, dann daraus können ihnen keine Nachteile erwachsen. Die Opposition hatte Recht: Die Möglichkeit für individuelle und kollektive Spenden wurde genutzt und das Ungarische Rote Kreuz erhielt in der Tat eine große Zahl von Spendenangeboten bzw. -überweisungen[37].

Die Kádár'sche Führung gab sich aber nicht zufrieden, in offiziellem Rahmen Spendensammlungen für die Polen durchführen zu lassen, sondern beschloss auch, die Idee aus dem oppositionellen Aufruf vom Dezember 1981, polnische Kinder zu einem zeitweiligen Aufenthalt nach Ungarn einzuladen, zu ihrer eigenen zu machen. Die Leitung des Kommunistischen Jugendverbandes (KISZ), einer "Filialorganisation" der MSZMP, traf daraufhin mit entsprechenden polnischen Organisationen Vereinbarungen, worauf im Laufe des Jahres 1982 4.000 polnische Kinder für einen Monat in Ungarn Ferien machen oder lernen konnten. Die Kinder wurden in Zánka, dem größten Pfadfinderlager am Plattensee, untergebracht. Die erste, 120-köpfige Gruppe kam am 4. Februar 1982 an, worüber die ungarische Presse auch ausführlich berichtete. Bei seinem Besuch in Budapest im April dieses Jahres bedankte sich General Jaruzelski hierfür auch bei Kádár und betonte, dass „diese edle ungarische Geste in der polnischen Öffentlichkeit eine sehr positive Reaktion" hervorgerufen habe[38]. Die "sozialistische ungarisch-polnische Freundschaft" war also wiederhergestellt. Die neue Situation offenbarte sich auch in der vielsagenden Zustimmung der MSZMP-Führung, dass "die in Budapest tätigen polnischen Arbeiter – auf ihre Bitte hin – am 1. Mai 1982 zusammen mit den Budapester Werktätigen aufmarschieren" sollten; sie sollten dabei "in ihren Reihen

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[35] Ebenda.
[36] *Beszélő*, S. 105.
[37] MOL, Signatur, 288. f., 5/847 ő. e.
[38] MOL, Signatur, 288. f., 5/846 ő. e. bzw. 11/4405 ő. e.

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polnische Fahnen sowie die Porträts von J. Kádár und W. Jaruzelski" mit sich führen[39].

Wie erwähnt scheiterte die Opposition mit ihrer Initiative zur Spendensammlung, die Absicht, ein Ferienlager zu organisieren, gab sie allerdings nicht auf. Die erfolgreiche Durchführung im vorangegangenen Jahre war noch in frischer Erinnerung, mehr zählte aber vielleicht die Tatsache, dass sich auf den Aufruf vom Dezember hin so viele Personen meldeten, dass 200 polnische Arbeiterkinder für zwei Wochen und bei voller Übernahme der Kosten in ungarischen Familien untergebracht werden konnten. Die Vorbereitungen auf polnischer Seite wurden von der Polnischen Gesellschaft der Kinderfreunde übernommen. Währenddessen legten die polnischen und ungarischen Behörden der Aktion aber immer mehr Hindernisse in den Weg. Wegen der Sabotage durch die Ungarische Post wurden so zum Beispiel die regulär ausgestellten und von Staatsbeamten abgestempelten Einladungsbriefe von Privatpersonen nach Warschau gebracht, wobei allerdings ein Großteil dieser Schreiben von den ungarischen Behörden bei der Ausreise beschlagnahmt wurde. Die erste polnische Kindergruppe – 45 Personen und zwei Pädagogen als Begleitung – hätte am 16. August 1982 ankommen sollen. In Ungarn waren hierfür alle Vorbereitungen getroffen worden. Die Gruppe musste aber bereits in Warschau zwei Tage auf die Abfahrt des Zuges nach Budapest warten, obwohl sie über Sitzplatzkarten und auch über Pässe verfügte. Die Fahrkarten bekam sie dennoch nicht und schließlich nahm ihr die polnische Polizei auch ihre Reisedokumente ab[40]. Die Organe der polnischen und ungarischen Staatssicherheit bzw. die politische Führung in beiden Ländern vereitelten so im letzten Augenblick und mit vereinten Kräften die Aktion der Opposition für ein alternatives Ferienlager. Die Macht hatte also nachträglich aus ihrem "Fehler" gelernt, 1981 eine derartige Initiative, deren Erfolg die ungarische Opposition zweifellos stärkte, erlaubt zu haben. Kádár selbst missfiel besonders, dass die aus Intellektuellen bestehende Opposition wiederholt Beziehungen zur Arbeiterklassen, also zur ewigen "Berufungsgrundlage" der kommunistischen Machthaber, suchte – auch wenn es sich in diesem Fall um die polnische Arbeiterklasse handelte.

Am 31. August 1982, am zweiten Jahrestag des Danziger Abkommens zwischen der Regierung und der Solidarität, kam es in ganz Polen zu Kundgebungen. Die in die Illegalität gezwungene Gewerkschaft bat die ungarische Opposition darum, einen Tag vor diesem Datum in Budapest eine Gedenkveranstaltung abzuhalten. Am 30. August versammelten sich so 50 bis 60 Personen auf dem Platz vor der – wie gezeigt symbolträchtigen – Statue von General Bem. "Weitere 20 bis 30 Personen kehrten um, als sie sahen, dass auf dem Platz Verhaftungen stattfanden. Die Mehrheit wurde nach ihren Papieren gefragt und es wurden ihre Personalien festgehalten." Die Organisatoren Demszky, Haraszti, Rajk und den Architekten Bálint Nagy hatte die Polizei bereits unmittelbar vor der Demonstration festgenommen und nach drei Stunden wieder frei gelassen, so dass sie ihre geplanten Reden nicht halten konnten. Die Polizisten schafften auch die Blumen, die als

[39] MOL, Signatur, 288. f., 5/851 ő. e.
[40] Irodalmi Újság (Paris), 1982, Nr. 4, S. 3.

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Zeichen der "Solidarität mit dem polnischen Volk" niedergelegt worden waren, vom Sockel der Statue weg. Während der Aktion sprach Tibor Pákh einige Worte zu den Versammelten und bat die Gläubigen um ein leises Gebet, die Nichtgläubigen um stille Meditation. "Nach mehrmaligen Aufforderungen durch die Polizei löste sich die Gruppierung gegen halb sieben friedlich auf."[41]

Kurze Zeit später wurde in der Hauptstadt die vervielfältigte Erklärung, die Demszky während der Gedenkveranstaltung nicht hatte verlesen können, verteilt. Die Stellungnahme, die auch in Nummer 4 des *Beszélő* veröffentlicht wurde, handelte im Wesentlichen von der Parteinahme zugunsten der Solidarität sowie von der friedlichen Freiheitsbewegung des polnischen Volkes und deren Unterdrückung. Außerdem wurde es darin als eine Schande bezeichnet, dass die ungarische Regierung die "Militärdiktatur in Polen" unterstütze. "Lasst uns nicht vergessen", so das Dokument, "dass die Polen die Ungarn 1956 mit Blut, Geld und auf alle möglich Weise unterstützt haben. Das Militärregime verschlimmerte die wirtschaftliche Lage der Polen nur und machte jegliche [positive] politische Entwicklung aussichtslos. Es wäre eine gefährliche Illusion, wenn wir denken würden, dass Ungarn auf dem Weg des wirtschaftlichen Aufstiegs und der demokratischen Entwicklung Fortschritte erzielen könne, während in Polen dieselben Bestrebungen brutal unterdrückt werden."[42] Von der Gedenkveranstaltung in Budapest am 30. August berichteten auch westliche Presseagenturen (AFP, Reuter), so dass die Nachricht davon auch nach Polen drang. Diejenigen Polen, die hierüber Kenntnis erhielten, gingen gewiss am folgenden Tag mit noch größerer Entschlossenheit auf die Strasse. Der Kritiker András Kardos, der sich in Warschau aufhielt, konnte sich persönlich ein Bild von der Situation machen. Als die Machthaber die friedlichen Demonstranten angreifen ließen und dabei auch Tränengas einsetzten, flüchtete sich Kardos zusammen mit vielen Polen in eine Kirche. Als ein Demonstrant dort merkte, dass sich auch ein Ungar unter ihnen befand, erklärte er "mit strahlendem Gesicht, ihn beinahe umarmend": "In Budapest gab es eine Solidaritätsdemonstration"[43].

IV.

In der polnischen Gesellschaft ist die Erinnerung an die ungarische Revolution von 1956, für die sie so viel getan hatte, immer lebendig geblieben. Seit 1980 interessierte sich auch die Solidarität für die ungarischen Ereignisse und wollte daraus Erfahrungen schöpfen. Es verwundert daher überhaupt nicht, dass zum 25. Jahrestag von 1956 in der – damals gerade "halblegalen" – polnischen zweiten Öffentlichkeit mehrere Bücher und Artikel zu diesem Thema erschienen. In einem damaligen Bericht der Abteilung für Agitation und Propaganda der MSZMP wurde dieser Sachverhalt – unter Verwendung einer typischen Diktion – so präsentiert: "Die extremen Elemente der Solidarität nützen die [ungarischen] Ereignisse des Jahres

[41] *Beszélő*, S. 163 und Irodalmi Újság (Paris), 1982, Nr. 4, S. 3.
[42] *Beszélő*, S. 163.
[43] *Beszélő*, S. 170 und J. Tischler, *op. cit.*, S. 389.

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1956 in den verschiedenen, unter ihrem Einfluss stehenden landesweiten und wöchentlich erscheinenden Publikationen vor allem dazu, ihre eigenen politischen Bestrebungen und Konzepte zu bestätigen und die Polnische Vereinigte Arbeiterpartei weiter zu diskreditieren. Sie stellen die Ereignisse eindeutig als 'Revolution' und ‚berechtigten Aufstand der Massen' dar"[44]. Es kam aber auch vor, dass polnische Staatsbürger ungarischsprachige Flugblätter, die mit "Polnisch-ungarische Freundschaft" oder "Solidarität-SZETA" begannen, in Budapest verteilten[45].

Nach der Einführung des Kriegszustandes stieg das Interesse an den ungarischen Ereignissen von 1956 weiter, und zwar in einem Maße, dass die "Schicksalsgemeinschaft" des 4. November 1956[46] und des 13. Dezember 1981 zum "Kitt" der Kooperation der ungarischen und polnischen Opposition wurde – ungeachtet der Tatsache, dass das "Gewicht" der beiden Seiten von Anfang an sehr unterschiedlich war. So konnte es geschehen, dass zum 30. Jahrestag der ungarischen Revolution dutzendweise Untergrundschriften in polnischer Sprache zu diesem Thema erschienen und in der – bereits erwähnten – Kirche des Heiligen Christopherus in Podkowa Leśna das erste Denkmal der Region zu 1956, eine zweisprachige (polnisch-ungarisch) beschriftete Granittafel, enthüllt wurde. Diese trug folgende Aufschrift: "Dem Gedenken der Gefallenen und Ermordeten zum 30. Jahrestag der Revolution". Der Enthüllung schloss sich zudem eine illegale Fotoausstellung am selben Ort an. Und gegenüber der ungarischen Botschaft in Warschau wurde ein Transparent mit der Aufschrift "1956 – Ungarn – Wir gedenken – Solidarität" angebracht[47].

Die Ereignisse in Polen in den Jahren 1980/1981 fielen in eine Zeit, als die "junge Generation" der ungarischen Opposition die – offizielle – als "Konterrevolution" betitelten Ereignisse von 1956 für sich entdeckte und daraufhin in den Samisdat-Publikationen da und dort entsprechende Dokumente, Erinnerungen und Studien publizierte. Bei der älteren Generation war die Gnadenlosigkeit der Vergeltung nach der Revolution hingegen immer präsent geblieben. Gerade diese Erinnerung brachte eines der schönsten Beispiele für die oppositionelle Solidarität von Ungarn und Polen hervor, nämlich einen Artikel des Schriftstellers György Konrád, der in der *New York Review of Books* vom 2. Dezember 1982 erschien: "Es besteht die große Gefahr, dass die polnische Regierung sich dazu anschickt, die Welt in der Angelegenheit des KOR, des Arbeiterschutzkomitees, vor vollendete Tatsachen zu stellen. Jacek Kuroń, Adam Michnik, Jan Lityński, Jan Józef Lipski und Henryk Wujec wurden zuerst interniert, dann verhaftet und wiederholt des Landesverrates und der Verschwörung angeklagt. Wenn das Gericht die Angeklagten für schuldig befindet – und die Parteipresse spricht bereits in diesem Sinne über sie –, dann eröffnet das die Möglichkeit zur härtesten Strafe, zur Todesstrafe. [...] Ich

[44] MOL, Signatur, 288.f.12/217 ő. e.
[45] ÁBTL, NOIJ, 1980-1988, III/III.
[46] An diesem Tage begann die (zweite) sowjetische Intervention zur endgültigen Niederschlagung der ungarischen Revolution.
[47] So die Erinnerungen von Ákos Engelmayer. Fotographien, die die obigen Ereignisse dokumentieren, befinden sich im Besitz des Verfassers.

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erhebe meine Stimme im Interesse dieser höchst talentierten und charakterstarken polnischen Intellektuellen, die in der Geschichte der demokratischen Bewegungen in Osteuropa eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt haben und deren Ziel es ist, im Rahmen einer Selbstbeschränkung übenden Demokratie einen gesetzlich festgeschriebenen Gesellschaftsvertrag zwischen dem Parteistaat und der Gesellschaft zu schließen. [...] Ich kenne die Einwände gegen meine Worte: Eine derartige Prophezeiung ist keine glückliche Sache. Ich weiß auch: Viele informierte und aufgeklärte Menschen werden meine Warnung ignorieren, weil sie sie für eine überflüssige Verängstigung halten. Ich kann aber das schandvolle Erstaunen nicht vergessen, das wir Ungarn nach der Niederschlagung unserer nationalen demokratischen Revolution von 1956 gefühlt haben, als im Juni 1958 die Hinrichtung von Imre Nagy und seiner Gefährten Miklós Gimes, Pál Maléter und József Szilágyi bekannt gegeben wurde. Das hinter verschlossenen Türen verkündete Urteil wurde sofort vollstreckt. Der Öffentlichkeit wurden nur die vollendeten Tatsachen mitgeteilt. [...] Ich bitte die Leser dieser Zeilen, ihre Stimme gegen die immer gewaltsamere Zerstörung der Autonomie der größten osteuropäischen Nation zu erheben. Glauben sie nicht, dass dem Schlechten nicht etwas noch Schlechteres folgen kann."[48]

Die Führung unter Kádár duldete es diesmal nicht, das die obige Schrift, die zudem in einer weltweit renommierten Zeitschrift publiziert wurde, ihren empfindlichsten Punkt berührte. Kádár fürchtete sich bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1989 vor der Erinnerung an 1956. Er war sich bewusst, dass die sowjetischen Truppen am 4. November 1956 eine rechtmäßige Regierung, die Regierung des im Juni 1958 hingerichteten Imre Nagy, gestürzt hatten. Und diese Tat belastete ihn bis zum Ende seines Lebens. Im Herbst 1981 erwartete das Regime den Jahrestag der "Konterrevolution", der dann ohne besondere "Störung der Ordnung" vorüberging, mit völlig übertriebenen Vorbereitungen. Aus politischen Erwägungen wollte man damals nicht mit besonderer Gewalt gegen die Opposition vorgehen: Die internationale Meinung, die wegen der Westkredite für das Regime besondere Bedeutung hatte, sollte den Jahrestag nicht mit einer – möglichen – Verschleppung von Oppositionellen in Verbindung bringen. (Vergessen wir nicht, dass die polnische Krise zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch nicht "gelöst" war.) 1982 hingegen sahen Kádár und seine Genossen die Zeit als reif für eine Kraftdemonstration an. Hierzu trug mit Sicherheit auch bei, dass der Leiter des KGB Juri Andropow, der 1956 sowjetischer Botschafter in Budapest gewesen war, im November 1982 Nachfolger des verstorbenen Leonid Breschnew wurde. Damit rückte die "innenpolitische Linie" in Moskau in den Vordergrund. In Budapest wurde vermutlich damals auch erwogen, dass eine gewisse innenpolitische "Verhärtung" die neue sowjetische Führung zufriedenstellen werde und so auch weiterhin der – im Vergleich zu den übrigen kommunistischen Ländern weichere – Kurs Kádárs fortgesetzt werden könne.

Die Oppositionellen waren bereits seit Frühjahr 1982 größeren oder kleineren Schikanen ausgesetzt, also provokativen Beobachtungen und Nachstellungen, der Beschränkung ihrer Bewegungsfreiheit, verbalen Angriffen usw. Den "*casus belli*" rief aber schließlich der Konrád-Artikel hervor. Im offiziellen

[48] *Beszélő*, S. 320-321.

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Presseorgan der MSZMP, der Tageszeitung *Népszabadság* (Volksfreiheit), erschien am 11. Dezember 1982 ein Artikel aus der Feder des stellvertretenden Chefredakteurs Péter Rényi mit dem Titel "Das ist kein Kinderspiel" ("*Nem babra megy a játék*"). In diesem attackierte der Verfasser Konrád und seinen Artikel und beschuldigte ihn, im Dienste westlich-imperialistischer antikommunistischer Zentren und ihrer Propagandamaschinerie zu stehen. Zugleich stellte er ein entschiedenes Auftreten gegen all jene in Aussicht, die das System nicht akzeptierten: "Wir halten weiter daran fest, was bereits früher über die Opposition gesagt wurde: Wir suchen keine Konfrontation, aber wir weichen ihr, wenn es notwendig ist, auch nicht aus – ganz nach der alten ungarischen Redewendung: 'So wie Du Dich mir gegenüber verhältst, so werde ich mich Dir gegenüber verhalten'."[49]

Nach kurzer Zeit stellte sich heraus, was Rényi unter der Reaktion der Macht verstand. Die Kádár-Führung hatte nämlich beschlossen, eine demonstrative Aktion in Gang zu setzen, "um die Vervielfältigung und Verbreitung oppositionell-feindlicher Publikationen zurückzudrängen". Neue Taktik wurde, die Opposition finanziell zu ruinieren. Zum einen ließ sie Hausdurchsuchungen bei Demszky, bei mehreren Mitarbeitern des Unabhängigen AB Verlages sowie bei anderen Oppositionellen durchführen, zum anderen ordnete sie an, die Verteilungszentrale der Publikationen, die Rajk-Boutique, zu schließen. Damit schlugen sie zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe: Mit der Beschlagnahmung der Samisdat-Publikationen und ihrer sogenannten Stammexemplare verursachten sie bei der Opposition einen empfindlichen, nicht nur materiellen Verlust. (Finanziell ging es um etwa 350.000 Forint in einer Zeit, in der der monatliche Durchschnittsverdienst bei 5.000 bis 6.000 Forint lag.) Im Falle der Boutique zerstörte die Macht zudem die Überzeugung der Andersdenkenden, dass Rajk wegen des Schicksals seiner Eltern als "*sacro sanct*" zu betrachten sei[50].

Nicht nur die Aktion selbst hatte demonstrativen Charakter, sondern auch der Zeitpunkt ihrer Durchführung. Es lässt sich zwar schwer abschätzen, inwieweit es sich hierbei um Absicht handelte, Tatsache ist aber, dass die Polizeiaktionen vom 14. Dezember fast genau auf den Tag fielen, an dem ein Jahr zuvor von Jaruzelski der Kriegszustand verkündet wurde. Die Behörden lösten nicht nur die Boutique – wo sie neben zahllosen Samisdat-Veröffentlichungen auch ein Vervielfältigungsgerät und zwei Siebdruckrahmen beschlagnahmten – auf, sondern quartierten auch Rajk aus einer Wohnung in der Budapester Innenstadt aus, was einer erneuten Warnung an die Opposition gleich kam. Die Rechnung der Machthaber ging auf: Obwohl die Boutique an Rajks neuem Wohnort einige Monate später neu eröffnet wurde, hatte sie ihre zentrale Bedeutung ein für allemal verloren. Ende März 1983 kam es erneut zu Hausdurchsuchungen bei bekannten Oppositionellen, die denjenigen vom Dezember 1982 glichen. Auch damit wurden der Opposition – mit der Wegschaffung von Manuskripten, Publikationen, Druckereigerät und Schreibmaschinen – schmerzliche Verluste zugefügt. Die Polizeiaktionen wurden 1983 ununterbrochen

[49] Népszabadság, 11. Dezember 1982. (Die ungarische Redewendung lautet: "Amilyen az adjonisten, olyan lesz a fogadjisten").
[50] MOL, Signatur 288.f.11/4410 ő. e.

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fortgesetzt und gipfelten im September, als Demszky auf offener Straße misshandelt und dann zu einer halbjährigen Gefängnisstrafe auf (dreijährige) Bewährung verurteilt wurde.

Das Kádár-Regime gewann diese "Schlacht", den Krieg verlor es aber, ebenso wie General Jaruzelski den seinen, denn der Kriegszustand löste keine Probleme, sondern verlängerte nur die Agonie des kommunistischen Systems in Polen um fast acht Jahre. Wie sehr sich Jaruzelski und Kádár voneinander unterschieden, zeigte sich Ende der 1980er Jahre. Der polnische General war letztlich einsichtig. Als er 1988 zwischen erneuter Gewaltanwendung und dem Dialog mit der Opposition, also mit der von ihm verbotenen Gewerkschaft Solidarität, wählen musste, wählte er letzteren. Damit wies er als erster den Weg für mögliche politische Veränderungen. Kádár hingegen war hierzu nicht fähig, so dass ihn seine eigenen Genossen aus der Politik drängen mussten, als sein Kurs, der sich aus den Erfahrungen mit der Revolution von 1956 speiste, nach gut drei Jahrzehnten gescheitert war. Die Tatsache, dass der Systemwechsel in Ungarn 1989/1990 – ähnlich der polnischen Wende und anfänglich nach deren Muster – ohne Blutvergießen vonstatten ging, war somit nicht mehr sein – teilweiser – Verdienst, sondern derjenige einer jüngeren Generation, die ihn innerhalb der MSZMP in den Hintergrund drängte und, indem sie die Bedingungen des "friedlichen Übergangs" bestimmte, der Einsicht in den "Lauf der Geschichte" Platz machte.

Die hinsichtlich ihrer Zahl wesentlich schwächere und schlechter organisierte ungarische Opposition war bis 1987/1988 nicht in der Lage, Rückhalt bei den Massen zu finden, auch nicht in der "polnischen Frage". Sie konnte keine Millionen, Zehntausende oder selbst Tausende in Bewegung setzen. Ihre konsequenten Aktivitäten trugen aber dennoch dazu bei, die kommunistische Macht zu untergraben. Seit dem Zusammenbruch des Kádár-Regimes, der auf die Mitte der 1980er Jahre zu datieren ist, spielte sie allmählich eine Rolle, die wesentlich bedeutender war, als es ihr zahlenmäßiges Gewicht widerspiegelte. Diesem Faktum ist auch zu verdanken, dass es ihr 1989 gelang, die Führungsriege der MSZMP an den Verhandlungstisch zu bringen. Die MSZMP fand ihrerseits in der Opposition einen kompetenten, von der Gesellschaft bevollmächtigten Verhandlungspartner und konnte daher mit ihr über die friedliche Machtübergabe verhandeln. Aber das ist bereits eine andere Geschichte.

Übersetzung aus dem Ungarischen: Andreas Schmidt-Schweizer

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Les pouponnières de Ceaușescu. L'institutionnalisation de la petite enfance dans la Roumanie de Ceaușescu

Jean-Philippe Légaut

Keywords: *communist Romania*; *infancy*; *social history*; *orphanage*

Au début des années 1990, l'opinion publique occidentale découvre avec stupeur et effarement les "orphelinats roumains". Grâce aux nombreux reportages, aux convois humanitaires, aux témoignages de volontaires, de nombreuses images des "enfants du diable"[1] circulent en Europe de l'Ouest, et présentent des mineurs aux visages éplorés, vivants souvent dans des conditions de vie effroyables, négligés par le personnel, et victimes de l'incurie de l'Etat. Parmi ces différents clichés, celui des nouveaux-nés et jeunes enfants âgés de 0 à 3 ans, placés dans des pouponnières[2], retient particulièrement l'attention. Les pouponnières constituent, en réalité, la première marche du système de protection de l'enfance, tel qu'il a été défini par la loi du 26 mars 1970[3]. Les enfants abandonnés, orphelins, placés pour des raisons sociales ou médicales, y passent les premières années de leur vie, avant de retrouver leur famille ou d'intégrer les autres institutions spécialisées[4].

Cependant, le phénomène d'institutionnalisation n'a pas impressionné que l'opinion publique occidentale. Il occupe également une place importante dans la politique roumaine, et déjà lors du procès du 25 décembre 1989. Nicolae Ceaușescu est, en effet, accusé par son avocat, Constantin Lucescu, d'avoir voulu "gagner du temps pour élever les enfants des orphelinats, pour les envoyer à l'étranger ou les amener comme troupes de commando contre le peuple roumain"[5]. Comme l'écrit Gail Kligman: "On croyait largement qu'un corps spécial de police était composé d'orphelins sélectionnés et élevés expressément pour servir fidèlement leurs «parents», les Ceaușescu."[6]

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[1] Jean-Louis Courtinat, *Les enfants du diable*, Paris, 2001.

[2] *Leagăn.*

[3] Loi n° 3 du 26 mars 1970 sur le régime de prise en charge de certaines catégories de mineurs.

[4] "Maison d'enfants" pour préscolaires et scolaires; maternelles, écoles et lycées pour les mineurs avec des déficiences "récupérables"; écoles professionnelles et lycées spécialisés pour mineurs avec déficiences récupérables; foyers-écoles et foyers-ateliers pour les mineurs avec déficiences partiellement récupérables; foyers pour mineurs avec déficiences irrécupérables.

[5] *Procesul Ceaușeștilor, 25 decembrie 1989. Stenograma integrală și caseta video originală*, Bucarest, 1991: "*să câștige timp ca să creasca pe copiii de la orfelinate pentru a-i trimite în străinătate sau pentru a-i aduce ca trupe de comando împotriva poporului român*".

[6] Gail Kligman, *The politics of duplicity: controlling reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1998, p. 31: "*It was also widely believed that a special secret*

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On peut ainsi se demander si les "pouponnières de Ceauşescu" doivent être comprises, dans une perspective politique, comme la première étape d'un projet politique totalitaire, visant à enlever des enfants à leur famille biologique et à les élever pour en faire des êtres soumis et entièrement dédiés au Parti et au *Conducator*, ou bien, dans une perspective sociale, comme une tentative de prise de charge médico-sociale de l'enfance en danger[7].

Pouponnières et poupons dans la Roumanie de Ceauşescu

Les pouponnières sont des institutions médico-sociales, destinées à l'accueil et à la prise en charge des enfants de 0 à 3 ans. Les enfants admis dans la pouponnière sont ceux qui bénéficient de la loi de protection de l'enfance du 26 mars 1970, et notamment: "a) les mineurs dont les parents sont décédés, inconnus, ou dans n'importe quelle autre situation qui conduit à l'institution de la tutelle, s'ils n'ont pas de biens ou d'autres moyens matériels propres, s'il n'existe personne qui ait l'obligation, ou qui puisse être obligé à les entretenir; b) ceux, qui, présentant des déficiences, ont besoin d'une prise en charge spéciale qui ne peut être assurée dans leur famille; c) ceux dont le développement physique, moral ou intellectuel ou dont la santé est mis en danger dans leur famille."[8]

Un décret de 1973 précise le but de ces institutions, ainsi que le profil des enfants pris en charge: "La pouponnière d'enfants est une unité sanitaire qui assure la croissance, l'éducation et le soin médical des enfants, jusqu'à l'âge de 3 ans, qui, conformément à la loi, bénéficient d'une prise en charge[9], dans ces unités, et également à des catégories d'enfants, qui, en fonction de leur développement et de leur état de santé, nécessitent une assistance médicale (déficients mentaux,

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police corps was made up of orphans selected and raised expressly to loyally serve their «parents», the Ceausescus."

[7] Pour mener à bien cette étude, nous avons souhaité croiser des sources nationales et locales. Nous nous sommes ainsi appuyés sur deux principaux fonds: d'une part, les archives du Comité Central du Parti Communiste Roumain, et plus particulièrement les sections *Cancelarie*, *Administrativ-politică*, *Organizatorică*, *Propagandă şi Agitaţie*, et accessoirement le Fonds de l'Académie des sciences sociales et politiques; d'autre part, les archives du comité régional, puis départemental de Iaşi, les archives du comité municipal de Iasi (CMP), ainsi que le fonds de l'organisation de base du PCR de la pouponnière de Iasi.

[8] Loi n° 3 du 26 mars 1970, article 1 "*a) copiii ai căror părinţi sunt decedaţi, necunoscuţi sau în orice altă situaţie care duce la instituirea tutelei, dacă nu au bunuri sau alte mijloace materiale proprii, dacă nu există persoane care au fost obligate sau care pot fi obligate să-i întreţină, b) aceia care, fiind deficienţi, au nevoie de o îngrijire specială ce nu le poate fi asigurată în familie, c) cei a căror dezvoltare fizică, morală sau intelectuală ori a căror sănătate este primejduită in familie*".

[9] Le mot *ocrotire* nous a posé des problèmes de traduction. Nous avons opté, suivant les cas, pour l'expression "prendre en charge" ou pour les mots "soin" ou "protection".

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prématurés, malades psychiques ou tuberculeux, grands mutilés, familles désorganisées)"[10].

On constate donc que les enfants peuvent être admis à la pouponnière, soit à cause d'un problème médical, soit à cause d'un problème social, soit, le plus souvent, à cause de la combinaison de ces deux raisons.

Par ailleurs, ces institutions connaissent un fort développement durant le régime de Nicolae Ceauşescu. Si les statistiques font état de 4452 places en pouponnières en 1966[11], elles en indiquent 6413 en 1970[12] et 13 000 en 1980[13]. Cette augmentation ne fait pas que suivre la courbe de la natalité, mais, au contraire, la précède: les capacités d'accueil de nouveaux-nés et d'enfants de moins de trois ans triplent en moins de quinze années.

Admis pour raisons médicales

Plusieurs rapports de l'organisation de base de la pouponnière de Iasi évoquent l'importance des "nourrissons – problèmes"[14]. Ceux-ci, de fait, présentent deux types de problèmes majeurs: la prématurité et/ou la dystrophie.

La question de la prématurité revient fréquemment au cœur des préoccupations médicales – et natalistes – nationales. Une analyse du Ministère de la Santé, en 1968, évoque un pourcentage de 13 à 16% de naissances prématurées, soit au 6ème, 7ème ou 8ème mois de grossesse, entre avril 1967 et mars 1968[15]. Cette proportion importante, qui est concomitante du pic de naissances consécutif au décret du 1er octobre 1966, est alors expliquée par des raisons sociales ou professionnelles: "alimentation déséquilibrée ou carencée, effort, conditions défavorables de travail, intoxications professionnelles, micro-traumatismes, etc."[16]

On peut, par ailleurs, noter les fortes disparités entre départements, qui ne semblent, cependant, pas interroger les auteurs du rapport de 1968: moins de 6% de naissances prématurées dans les départements de Bacau ou Tulcea, plus de 20% dans les départements d'Arad, Bihor, Cluj, Dâmbovița, Harghita, Iaşi, et Vaslui[17]. L'étude plus approfondie de ces chiffres met en évidence une corrélation entre la natalité et le taux de prématurité: des naissances plus nombreuses entraînent, proportionnellement des naissances prématurées plus fréquentes. Cette corrélation peut sans doute

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[10] Archives du CC du PCR, section Cancelarie, dossier 84/1973, fol. 106: "*Leagănul de copii este unitatea sanitară care asigură creşterea, educarea şi îngrijirea medicală a copiilor în vîrstă de pînă la 3 ani, care potrivit legii beneficiază şi de ocrotire în aceste unități, precum şi a unor categorii de copii care în funcție de dezvoltarea şi starea lor de sănătate, necesită asistență medicală (deficienți mintali, prematuri, bolnavi psihici sau cu TBC, mari mutilați, familii dezorganizate)*".

[11] Idem, section Admininistrativ-politică, dossier 10/1967, fol. 27.

[12] Idem, section Organizatorică, dossier 18/1971, fol. 38.

[13] Idem, section Propagandă şi Agitație, dossier 30/1981, fol. 2.

[14] Archives de l'organisation de base "*leagan de copii*", fonds 31, dossier 59/1968, fol. 159: "*asistarea sugarilor problemă*".

[15] Archives du CC du PCR, section Cancelarie, dossier 103/1968, fol. 182.

[16] Idem, fol. 121: "*alimentatia dezechilibrată sau carențială, efortul, condiții nefavorabile la locul de muncă, intoxicații profesionale, microtraumatisme etc.*"

[17] Idem, fol. 183.

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s'expliquer par la surcharge des services d'obstétrique et des maternités, alors que le taux de natalité est multiplié par deux: il est probable que la qualité du suivi en ait été affectée, tandis que les congés médicaux étaient accordés avec plus de parcimonie pour ne pas désorganiser complètement l'activité économique. Dans le département de Iasi, c'est l'explication professionnelle qui est mise en avant: "dans certaines entreprises, la législation sur la protection des femmes enceintes n'est pas respectée. Certaines femmes enceintes sont obligées de travailler de 10 à 16 heures par jour dans des conditions précaires"[18]. Mais parfois, c'est la femme elle-même qui est montrée du doigt: "certaines femmes [...] préfèrent travailler jusqu'au neuvième mois, pour bénéficier de plus de jours de congés après la naissance."[19]

Cependant, si les prématurés sont nombreux, la pouponnière est mal équipée pour accueillir ces enfants: un rapport de 1977 mentionne "la nécessité de doter (la pouponnière) d'un équipement minimum utilisé pour le soin du prématuré (couveuse)"[20], ce qui laisse entendre que cet équipement, en 1977, est inexistant, ou, du moins, largement insuffisant.

D'autre part, un problème de dystrophie peut également conduire un nouveau-né à la pouponnière. Au 1er janvier 1982, sur 522 enfants présents à la pouponnière, 398, soit 76% souffraient de malnutrition à différents degrés[21]. On comprend ici que le rôle de la pouponnière est avant tout de traiter les carences, alimentaires en particulier, de la mère et de l'enfant.

L'institutionnalisation des enfants dans la pouponnière semble être une réponse à la double incapacité de certaines familles. Premièrement, c'est une réponse à leur incapacité à assurer l'alimentation nécessaire à leur enfant. Cependant, dans une société socialiste, où l'Etat doit garantir à chacun un travail et les moyens d'une existence digne, cette impossibilité pour des familles à subvenir aux besoins fondamentaux de leurs enfants n'est-elle pas le signe de l'échec des politiques économiques et sociales? Il semble, en réalité, que l'importance de la dystrophie prouve, en réalité, l'incapacité de la société socialiste à assurer à chacun un train de vie décent, et en particulier, une alimentation correcte. Comme l'écrit Despina Tomescu en 1988: "En ce qui concerne le premier âge, toutes proportions gardées, l'enchaînement causes-effets est semblable à celui que connaît le continent africain: des femmes mal nourries accouchent d'enfants faibles; après la naissance, ceux-ci sont à leur tour mal nourris: les mères manquent de lait, le lait en poudre est quasi-inexistant."[22]

Deuxièmement, l'entrée d'un enfant à la pouponnière peut être une réponse à l'incapacité de certaines familles à donner une alimentation adaptée à leur enfant. Ce

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[18] Archives du CMP de Iași (secteur sanitaire), fonds 31, dossier 57/1968, fol. 42: "*În unele întreprinderi nu se respectă legislația privind ocrotirea femeii gravide. Unele gravide trebuie să presteze zilnic 10-16 ore de activitate în condiții precare.*"

[19] Idem: "*o parte dintre femei* [...] *preferă să lucreze pînă în luna a 9-a, pentru a putea beneficia de mai multe zile de concediu după naștere.*"

[20] Idem, dossier 77/1983, fol. 98: "*este necesară dotarea cu aparatură minimă utilizată în îngrijirea prematurului (incubator).*"

[21] Idem.

[22] Catherine Durandin, Despina Tomescu, *La Roumanie de Ceausescu*, Saint-Ouen, 1988, p. 198.

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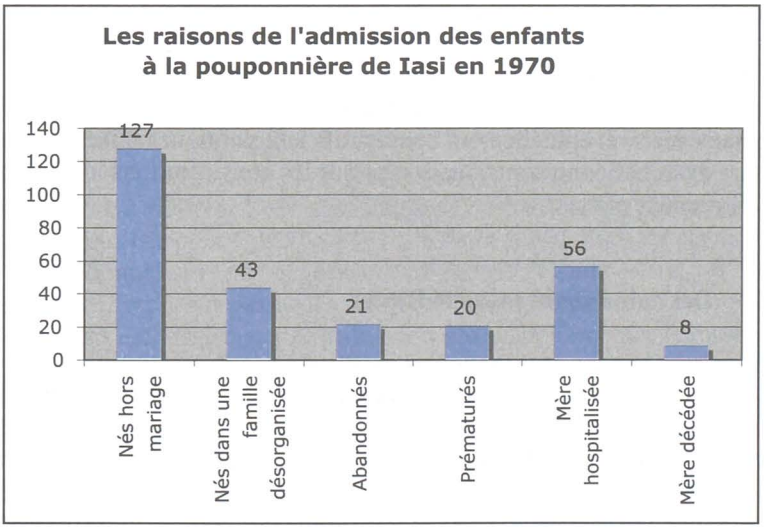
phénomène met en évidence l'insuffisance de l'éducation sanitaire de la population, alors que la natalité est élevée au rang des priorités nationales.

Cependant, l'admission à la pouponnière n'est pas toujours immédiate. Si la majorité des enfants y entrent avant l'âge d'un an, un certain nombre d'enfants, faute de suivi médical à domicile ou dans les dispensaires locaux, sont pris en charge alors que la dystrophie est déjà dans un stade avancé. Certains, sans qu'il soit aisé d'en déterminer la proportion, guérissent complètement, d'autres partiellement, d'autres, enfin, sont jugés "irrécupérables".

La pouponnière accueille enfin des "enfants déficients"[23], sur le plan intellectuel, moteur, sensitif ou psychologique, qui nécessitent une prise en charge spéciale. Ces déficiences peuvent bien sûr être liées à la prématurité ou à la dystrophie. Les enfants déficients sont accueillis à la pouponnière pour une période longue, et pour la plupart, passent le reste de leur existence dans les différentes institutions spécialisées de l'Etat.

Admis pour raisons sociales

Dans la plupart des cas, la situation sociale se superpose aux problèmes médicaux, voire les suscite. Le graphique ci-dessous montre les causes d'admission à la pouponnière de Iasi en 1970, tels qu'ils sont détaillés dans un rapport de 1970[24]. Or le même rapport fait état de 79 enfants dystrophiques, sur un total de 220[25], ce problème médical se superposant aux problèmes sociaux présentés dans le graphique.



[23] Archives du CMP de Iași (secteur sanitaire), fonds 31, dossier 3/1986, fol. 59: "*copii deficienți*".
[24] Idem, dossier 87/1970, fol. 43.
[25] Idem, fol. 49.

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Sur ce graphique, l'importance des enfants nés hors mariage est frappante: ils représentent presque la moitié des admissions (46%). Cette proportion est bien sûr à mettre en lien avec l'absence de tout moyen contraceptif et avec l'interdiction de l'avortement: ces nouveaux-nés forment le gros contingent des enfants non-désirés, qui sont plus ceux du Décret[26] que ceux de leurs parents.

La seconde catégorie, celle des enfants nés dans des "familles désorganisées" représente 15,5% des admissions. Cette catégorie regroupe, en réalité, des situations très variées: couples séparés ou divorcés, parents délinquants ou prisonniers pour d'autres motifs, parents sans travail ni revenu, vagabonds... En d'autres termes, il s'agit de la frange de la population qui n'est pas intégrée dans la "norme socialiste". L'analyse des situations individuelles des parents permettrait sans doute de brosser le portrait des "marginaux" de la société socialiste.

En outre, un nombre assez important d'enfants (20,5%) sont placés à la pouponnière, parce que leur mère est malade et ne peut s'en occuper. La tuberculose, les maladies psychiques, le handicap mental, ou encore l'invalidité[27] sont les causes les plus fréquentes.

En revanche, les enfants abandonnés (soit de parents inconnus) ne représentent que 7,5% du total des enfants admis à la pouponnière. Ce chiffre, somme toute assez faible, tend à montrer que l'abandon d'enfant n'est pas la première cause d'institutionnalisation des enfants, et, par ailleurs, que l'Etat ne semble pas encourager l'abandon; en d'autres termes, que l'Etat ne cherche pas à créer des orphelins, c'est-à-dire, des enfants qui seraient, par la volonté de l'Etat, privés de leur famille, et embrigadés dans des institutions.

Ce rapide tableau nous montre ainsi la diversité des profils des enfants admis à la pouponnière, ainsi que leur point commun: le besoin d'être protégés. Il semble bien que la prise en charge de ces enfants soit une réponse à des problèmes médicaux et sociaux réels, éventuellement consécutifs aux politiques mises en œuvre, et signes de leurs dysfonctionnements, mais sans que les considérations idéologiques jouent un rôle de premier plan.

Des soins avant tout médicaux

La pouponnière, un établissement médical

La pouponnière, si elle répond également à des besoins d'éducation et d'assistance sociale, est d'abord, par son organisation et son mode de fonctionnement, un établissement médical. Cette orientation est particulièrement évidente dans l'organigramme-type des établissements: c'est "un médecin de l'unité qui remplit aussi la fonction de médecin-directeur, aidé d'un infirmière-chef, choisie

[26] Le décret 770 du 1er octobre 1966 interdit l'avortement. Les enfants non-désirés, nés à la suite de cette décision, ont été appelés "les enfants du Décret".
[27] Archives du CC du PCR, section Cancelarie, dossier 103/1968, fol. 121.

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parmi les cadres moyens ou auxiliaires sanitaires de l'unité"[28]. La tête de l'établissement est donc purement médicale, à l'exclusion de toute direction administrative. De même, alors que l'organigramme normé de 1973 préconise un poste de médecin pour 150 lits en crèche, il prévoit un poste de médecin pour 50 lits en pouponnière[29]. Par ailleurs, à l'exception des postes techniques (cuisiniers, personnel d'entretien, [...], tous les métiers de la pouponnière sont regroupés sous l'appellation d'"assistance aux lits"[30]. Cette appellation indique, en réalité, la perspective de l'établissement: les enfants sont pris en charge au lit, et leur santé est comprise dans un sens exclusivement clinique, le développement psychomoteur, en particulier, étant relégué au second plan.

Nous disposons d'une vue plus détaillée des différents postes de la pouponnière de Iasi. Pour 530 lits, on compte 14 médecins, 97 cadres sanitaires moyens, 62 aide-soignants, 32 hommes/femmes de service (dont les lingères), 14 postes pour les laboratoires spécialisés (analyses, radiologie, anatomie pathologique) et 4 psychologues-orthophonistes[31]. Les proportions sont à peu près identiques à la pouponnière d'Ungheni (rattachée à la pouponnière de Iasi, qui compte 100 lits,), où l'on ne trouve qu'un seul poste de psychologue-orthophoniste[32].

Si un certain nombre d'enfants sont internés à la pouponnière pour des raisons médicales, on a vu que beaucoup souffrent, en réalité, de leur milieu familial, ou de l'absence de conditions matérielles de leurs parents. Pour ces enfants, l'orientation exclusivement médicale de la pouponnière semble ne pas avoir été adaptée, et a sans doute causé de forts retards de développement, psychique ou moteur.

Des conditions matérielles précaires

Les conditions matérielles dans lesquelles grandissent les nourrissons de l'Etat laissent parfois à désirer. Leur alimentation, en particulier, est soumise aux mêmes restrictions qui frappent également le reste de la population. En revanche, les nourrissons institutionnalisés ne bénéficient d'aucune échappatoire au régime officiel, et en particulier, n'ont pas accès à l'économie souterraine, alors même que certains employés des établissements de protection semblent alimenter le marché noir avec des aliments initialement réservés aux enfants. En témoigne une anecdote: le jour d'un contrôle, des cuisiniers utilisèrent les œufs réservés au repas des enfants, pour préparer des petits gâteaux servis aux inspecteurs. Les inspecteurs, cependant, se rendirent compte que les enfants avaient été privés de repas, et sanctionnèrent les

[28] Idem, dossier 84/1973, fol. 107: "*unul din medicii unităţii care îndeplineşte şi funcţia de medic director, ajutat de o asistentă (soră) medicală şefă, aleasa dintre cadrele medii sau auxiliare sanitare din unitate.*"
[29] Idem, fol. 128.
[30] Idem: "*asistenţă la paturi*".
[31] Archives du CMP de Iaşi (secteur sanitaire), fonds 31, dossier 3/1982, fol. 24.
[32] Idem, fol. 25.

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flagorneurs inopportuns. De manière générale, les vols en cuisine semblent monnaie courante.

Déficiences éducatives

Les déficiences éducatives au sein de la pouponnière sont mentionnées dans tous les rapports de l'organisation de base du PCR de la pouponnière de Iasi depuis 1968: "le bureau (de l'organisation de base) ne s'est occupé que dans les derniers mois du travail éducatif auprès des enfants, de nombreuses déficiences persistant encore dans ce travail"[33], relève un compte-rendu de 1969. En 1973, le constat est identique: "Nous avons obtenu de moins bons résultats dans le développement psychomoteur, bien que cette année, trois éducatrices aient été employées. Nous, communistes, n'avons pas réussi à entraîner tous les salariés de l'institution à un travail soutenu dans ce sens."[34] Cependant, la question éducative reste absente du plan de mesures qui suit ce constat. En 1974, le problème est posé avec plus de clarté: "Le nombre de 8 éducatrices pour les quatre sections de la pouponnière ainsi que la crèche hebdomadaire, est absolument insuffisant. La route est encore ardue jusqu'à ce que chaque salarié prenne conscience que les soins médicaux ne sont pas les seuls nécessaires, et que les soins apportés au développement psychomoteur sont, en égale mesure, obligatoires."[35] Dans la seconde moitié des années 1980, des tentatives sont effectuées, pour tenter de remédier à ce problème. En 1985, une section spéciale destinée aux enfants handicapés est ouverte, avec pour but de "stimuler" l'enfant et "récupérer le handicap"[36]. En 1986, le directeur de la pouponnière propose une formation continue du personnel médical aux problèmes de puériculture[37]. En dépit de ces maigres tentatives, l'élément éducatif reste secondaire dans l'activité globale de la pouponnière.

Nous arrivons ainsi au problème majeur de la pouponnière: les soins apportés restent purement médicaux, voire cliniques: la fonction éducative est absente, ou presque. Le parallèle est aisé à mener avec les maisons d'enfants[38], plus

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[33] Archives de l'organisation de base "*leagăn de copii*", fonds 31, dossier 59/1968, fol. 57: "*Biroul s-a preocupat de-abia în ultimile luni de munca educativă a copiilor, persistînd încă multe lipsuri în această muncă.*"

[34] Idem, dossier 115/1973, fol. 98: "*Rezultate mai slabe am obţinut în dezvoltarea psihomotorie, cu toate că în acest an s-au încadrat 3 tov. educatoare. Noi, comuniştii, nu am reuşit să antrenăm toţi salariaţii din instituţie la o muncă susţinută în acest sens*".

[35] Idem, dossier 90/1974, fol. 77: "*Numărul de 8 educatoare pentru cele 4 secţii ale leagănului şi creşa săptămânală este cu totul insuficient.* [...] *Mai avem drum greu pînă ce va intra în conştiinţa fiecarui salariat că sînt necesare nu numai îngrijirile medicale ci şi cele ale dezvoltării psihomotorii şi că ele sînt în egală măsură obligatorii.*"

[36] Idem, dossier 70/1985, fol. 48: "*a stimulării şi recuperării copiilor*".

[37] Comité Municipal de Iaşi, fonds 31, dossier 1/1986, fol. 32.

[38] "*Case de copii*".

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connues, mais à tort, sous le nom d'orphelinats, où la fonction éducative est également reléguée au second plan, cette fois au profit de la fonction scolaire[39].

Par ailleurs, les comptes-rendus soulignent les déficiences du climat affectif dans lequel vivent les enfants. En 1982, un rapport appelle de ses vœux "la création d'un véritable milieu familial pour les enfants de ces unités qui sentent de manière si pressante le besoin d'être soignés avec chaleur et affection."[40] Si l'on considère les trois fonctions supposées de la pouponnière – médicale, éducative et affective –, on constate que seule la première est réellement prise au sérieux par le personnel, même si elle est parfois compromise par les conditions matérielles: manque de personnel qualifié, postes vacants, manque de médicaments[41], etc. Quand aux fonctions éducative et affective, elles sont reléguées au second plan, ou sont parfois inexistantes.

Les séquelles que les enfants peuvent garder de ces déficiences éducatives sont bien connues. Jenny Aubry, dans sa *Psychanalyse des enfants séparés*[42], évoque les principales: troubles réactionnels à base d'inhibition ou d'agressivité, arrêt de développement et arriération psychomotrice, névrose obsessionnelle, démence de type autistique, psychose, etc. *Les vilains petits canards* de Boris Cyrulnik permettent d'établir un lien avec les pouponnières de l'Assistance Publique de Paris dans l'après-guerre: "Quand, après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, on a placé des enfants malheureux, abandonnés ou simplement dont la mère était malade, trop pauvre ou seule, on les a poussés dans des circuits sociaux dont ils pouvaient difficilement sortir. Certaines «pouponnières» célèbres comme celles de Médan, fondée par Emile Zola, ou les immenses foyers de «convalescence» de l'Assistance Publique à Paris, ont longtemps été des lieux où s'accumulaient des enfants qui allaient inévitablement vers des dysharmonies évolutives graves avec retard intellectuel"[43].

De fait, dès 1990, la presse internationale fait ses gros titres des retards de développement visibles chez les enfants placés en pouponnières, tandis que plusieurs grandes organisations internationales font de la formation des puériculteurs et éducateurs des institutions une priorité[44].

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[39] Jean-Philippe Légaut, *Les enfants de l'Etat. Histoire d'un orphelinat sous Ceausescu*, "Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin", 29, printemps 2009.

[40] Comité Municipal de Iași, fonds 31, dossier 3/1982, fol. 142: "*crearea unui adevărat mediu familial copiilor din aceste unități care simt atât de stringent nevoia de a fi ocrotiți cu caldură și afectivitate*".

[41] Archives de l'organisation de base "*leagăn de copii*", fonds 31, dossier 59/1968, fol. 159.

[42] Jenny Aubry, *Psychanalyse des enfants séparés*, Paris, 2003, chapitre 2.

[43] S. Lebovici, *A propos des effets lointains des séparations précoces*, "Abstract Neuro et Psy", 145, mars-avril 1996, p. 33, cité dans Boris Cyrulnik, *Les vilains petits canards*, Paris, 2004, p. 134.

[44] Voir G. Kligman, *op. cit.*, p 228; Gautier Pirotte, *L'épisode humanitaire roumain*, Paris, 2006.

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Statistiques et développement psychomoteur: le quantitatif au détriment du qualitatif

Quelle est l'origine de ce déséquilibre, constaté durant les vingt-cinq années que nous avons étudiées? Nous avons déjà évoqué la formation spécifiquement médicale du personnel, qui n'a donc pas de compétence particulière, ni peut-être d'intérêt professionnel, pour le domaine proprement éducatif.

Cependant, la question de l'organigramme de l'établissement ne peut être la seule explication. Si, en effet, les fiches de poste n'ont pas été modifiées, c'est sans doute parce que ce déséquilibre ne contrevenait pas réellement aux priorités locales et nationales.

Le contexte, en effet, est à l'encouragement de la natalité, et même à la natalité contrainte. Les autorités locales sont donc jugées avant tout sur les chiffres de la natalité, analysés dans la perspective d'un *production plan*[45] et, partant, sur ceux de la mortalité infantile. Dans les comptes-rendus des comités municipaux et départementaux de Iasi, en effet, ces statistiques occupent la première place et constituent la fierté des responsables de l'organisation de base. Sont également évoquées les différentes maladies, qui peuvent mettre en danger les performances du pays en matière de population. De fait, chaque décès au sein de l'institution fait l'objet d'une enquête approfondie. Ces statistiques sont donc principalement quantitatives, et strictement binaires: un enfant est vivant ou mort.

En revanche, la pouponnière ne semble pas disposer d'indicateur qualitatif pour mesurer le développement affectif, psychique ou moteur des enfants. Du moins, le sujet est totalement absent des préoccupations de l'organisation de base. La pouponnière doit rendre des comptes sur la survie des enfants; en revanche, aucune directive nationale, à notre connaissance, ne vise à encourager l'éducation de ces enfants, ou à favoriser leur croissance. En ce sens, les enfants internés à la pouponnière sont les victimes d'une culture du chiffre propre aux régimes socialistes[46].

Par ailleurs, l'absence de soin apporté au développement des enfants décrédibilise la thèse selon laquelle le régime aurait cherché à élever des enfants loin de leur famille, pour leur inculquer, dès leur plus jeune âge, les valeurs du parti: on voit ici que le développement intellectuel et physique n'est même pas recherché. Vraisemblablement, de ces institutions, sont sortis plus d'enfants au développement retardé que d'élites dévouées.

L'enfant placé, entre famille et institutions

Les relations entre la famille de l'enfant interné à la pouponnière et l'institution sont particulièrement complexes. Elles sont, schématiquement, réglées

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[45] G. Kligman, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[46] Voir Alain Blum, Martine Mespoulet, *L'anarchie bureaucratique, Statistique et pouvoir sous Staline*, Paris, 2003.

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par deux logiques opposées. D'une part, la famille est vue par les cadres médicaux comme un lieu potentiellement dangereux (absence de conditions matérielles, risque de négligence voire de maltraitance): dans un contexte de politique nataliste, le principe de précaution médicale s'applique contre la famille. D'autre part, la famille reste théoriquement la cellule de base de la société socialiste et le lieu normal du développement de l'enfant: le placement est donc une mesure exceptionnelle, et constitue un coût supplémentaire pour le budget de l'Etat, qui ne souhaite pas assumer les charges financières normalement dévolues aux familles.

Le "principe de précaution" contre la famille

Dans un contexte de natalité forcée, les exigences démographiques prennent le pas sur toute autre considération. Alors que la population montre de fortes réticences, et que le taux de natalité ne se maintient pas au niveau souhaité par le régime, de nombreuses mesures sont prises pour renforcer au maximum l'accroissement de la population, comme, par exemple, le contrôle des grossesses. La lutte contre la mortalité infantile s'inscrit dans le même contexte, les médecins devant rendre des comptes pour chaque décès d'un nouveau-né.

Or l'analyse de l'état de santé de la population en 1968 met en évidence que les décès de nouveaux-nés se produisent souvent à domicile, faute d'une surveillance médicale appropriée: "environ 61% des enfants décédés dans les onze premiers mois sont perdus dans les troisième et quatrième mois (après la naissance), à cause de leur faible surveillance à domicile. Ainsi, un nombre significatif de nouveaux-nés meurent sans être vu par aucun médecin (14,7%). Beaucoup d'enfants malades sont internés à l'hôpital trop tard (45% après le 3ème ou 4ème jour de maladie), ce qui explique le nombre important de décès dans les 24 heures qui suivent l'admission à l'hôpital, tandis que 22% des enfants meurent à domicile, sans arriver jusqu'à l'hôpital."[47] D'autres rapports constatent aussi l'insuffisance des soins médicaux reçus par le nouveau-né à domicile : les dispensaires ruraux ne font pas de contrôle médical systématique, les cadres médicaux du secteur rural habitent rarement dans leur localité d'activité, et ne restent pas longtemps à leur poste, certaines circonscriptions sont régulièrement dépourvues de tout cadre médical, etc[48]. De même, la "préparation incomplète"[49], le "manque de conscience professionnelle"[50], ou encore l'incompétence de certains médecins, en particulier dans le monde rural, sont soulignées par plusieurs sources: "ni la sage-femme, ni l'infirmière, ni même

[47] Archives du CC du PCR, section Cancelarie, dossier 103/1968, fol. 123: "*în următoarele 3-4 luni se pierd, ca urmare a slabei lor supravegheri la domiciliu cca. 61% din totalul copiilor decedați în primele 11 luni. Astfel un număr însemnat de sugari mor fără să fi fost văzuți de nici un cadru medico-sanitar (14,7%). Mulți dintre copiii bolnavi sînt internați în spital tîrziu (45% dupa a 3-a, a 4-a zi de boală), ceea ce explică numarul mare de decese în primele 24 ore de la internare, iar cca. 22% au decedat la domiciliu, fără să mai fi ajuns la spital.*"

[48] Idem, section Admininistrativ-politică, dossier 10/1967, fol. 124.

[49] Idem, section Cancelarie, dossier 103/1968, fol. 123: "*pregătirea incompletă*".

[50] Idem: "*conștiinciozitatea redusă a unei părți din personalul medico-sanitar*".

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certains médecins de circonscription n'ont toujours en vue/à l'esprit les situations qui peuvent mettre en danger le nouveau-né dans certaines familles."[51] Dans ces conditions, on préfère interner les enfants à la pouponnière que de risquer un décès supplémentaire en les laissant repartir dans leur famille.

Si les cadres médicaux se défient de certains de leurs collègues, ils reprochent également à certaines familles leurs connaissances insuffisantes dans les soins à apporter aux nouveaux-nés. Le rapport de 1968 met en valeur le "niveau d'éducation sanitaire encore réduit de certain groupes de population, ce qui génère des déficiences dans l'hygiène des nourrissons, dans leur alimentation et l'affermissement de leur organisme. Ainsi, à partir des données statistiques provisoires de 1967, il résulte que 40% des mères d'enfants décédés avant un an n'ont pas fini l'école élémentaire, et dans certains départements, comme Bacău, Constanța, Iaşi, cette proportion se rapproche, pour le monde rural, de 75%."[52] Plusieurs rapports de la pouponnière de Iasi font état de ces difficultés, ainsi que de l'absence de mesures prises pour remédier à ce manque d'éducation des mères: "Le bureau (de l'organisation de base) a suivi de manière insuffisante le travail d'éducation sanitaire conduit avec les mères prises en charge, là où il serait nécessaire d'appliquer des méthodes nouvelles, plus efficaces. De même, il ne s'est pas suffisamment préoccupé de leur éducation citoyenne et éthique."[53] De ce fait, certaines familles représentent un risque, pour l'enfant, bien sûr, mais aussi pour l'accroissement de la population, sur lequel les cadres médicaux doivent rendre des comptes. Cette impression du corps médical est renforcée par l'attitude de certaines mères, qui, selon un rapport, mettent délibérément leur enfant en danger: "certaines mères négligent consciemment leur obligation de prendre soin de leur enfant. D'autres mères déclarent à leur admission à la maternité une adresse fictive, pour qu'à la sortie de l'enfant de l'hôpital, il ne puisse pas être surveillé par les circonscriptions (médicales)."[54] De ce fait, et compte tenu des déficiences des dispensaires ruraux, l'admission à la pouponnière se fait parfois au nom d'un principe de précaution médicale, l'enfant pouvant être mis en danger dans son milieu familial.

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[51] Archives du CMP de Iaşi (secteur sanitaire), fonds 31, dossier 113/1973, fol. 20: "*nici moaşa, nici asistenta, nici chiar unii medici din teritoriu nu au întotdeauna în vedere situațiile ce pot periclita nou-născutul în unele familii*".

[52] Idem, fol. 124: "*nivelul educativ-sanitar încă scăzut al unor grupe de populație, ceea ce generează deficiențe în îngrijirea igienică a sugarilor, în alimentarea şi călirea lor. Astfel, din datele statistice provizorii pe anul 1967 rezultă ca cca. 40% dintre mamele cu copii decedați sub 1 an nu au şcoala elementară terminată, iar în unele județe, ca Bacău, Constanța, Iaşi, această proporție se apropie pentru mediul rural de 75%.*"

[53] Archives de l'organisation de base "*leagăn de copii*", fonds 31, dossier 59/1968, fol. 58: "*Biroul a urmărit insuficient munca de educație sanitară dusă cu mamele ocrotite, acolo unde ar fi nevoie să se aplice metode noi, mai eficiente. De asemenea nu s-a preocupat suficient de educarea lor cetățenească şi etică.*"

[54] Archives du CMP de Iaşi (secteur sanitaire), fonds 31, Dossier 87/1970, fol. 43: "*unele mame neglijează în mod conştient obligația de a-şi îngriji copilul. Alte mame declară la internare în maternitate o adresă fictivă, pentru ca la externare copilul să nu poată fi urmarit de către circumscripția teritorială respectivă*".

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Enfin, ce principe de précaution trouve son paroxysme dans la crainte de certains médecins de circonscription de suivre des enfants "à risque": "parfois, (les enfants prématurés) sont envoyés au centre de prématurés (pouponnière), pour y être admis de nouveau, par des médecins, très souvent pour des raisons injustifiées, seulement par crainte de soigner un prématuré et de le surveiller sur le territoire dont il a la responsabilité."[55] Par crainte de devoir rendre des comptes sur l'éventuel décès d'un enfant, certains médecins demandent donc le placement de l'enfant, ce qui entraîne, de manière provisoire ou définitive, la rupture du lien avec sa famille.

Le placement, un coût supplémentaire et une mesure d'exception pour l'Etat socialiste roumain

Cependant, malgré ces situations, il semble que le régime considère le placement comme une mesure exceptionnelle, comme une réponse nécessaire à un besoin, plus qu'à un véritable choix politique. Tout d'abord, la prise en charge en pouponnière représente un coût important pour l'Etat, souligné par le rapport précité de 1968: "Tenant compte qu'une place en pouponnière coûte environ 25.000 lei pour la construction et l'équipement et 14.000 lei annuels pour l'entretien et le fonctionnement, le Ministère du travail va devoir poursuivre l'élargissement du placement en famille (d'accueil) pour les enfants de ces catégories."[56] La volonté politique de placement dans des institutions étatiques, si elle existe, trouve d'abord ses limites dans les contraintes budgétaires.

Au niveau local, on retrouve ces problèmes budgétaires. Sont alors incriminées les familles qui tentent d'échapper à leur obligation d'entretenir leur enfant, comme dans cette note de 1983: "on constate une augmentation du nombre de cas qui sont soumis à la commission à la demande directe de la famille. La demande est formulée par un parent ou par les deux, étant donné que l'on trouve des familles démembrées, des femmes qui ont conçu un enfant en dehors du mariage, et, d'autres fois, des citoyens qui comprennent de manière erronée la prise en charge et le soin qu'accorde l'Etat aux mineurs. [...] On a cherché à ne pas faciliter la dérobade aux obligations légales d'entretien qui incombent aux parents"[57]. On comprend ici que les services sociaux ne cherchent pas à augmenter le nombre d'enfants

[55] Idem, dossier 113/1973, fol. 7: "*uneori sînt trimişi în centrul de prematuri pentru reinternare chiar de către medici de multe ori pentru motive nejustificate, doar de teama de a creşte un prematur şi a-l supraveghea în propriul teren ce-l are pentru deservire*".

[56] Archives du CC du PCR, section Cancelarie, dossier 103/1968, fol. 121: "*Ţinînd seama că un loc în Casa Copilului costă circa 25.000 lei pentru construcţii-dotare şi circa 14.000 lei anual pentru întreţinere, Ministerul Muncii va trebui să urmărească în continuare lărgirea plasamentului familial al acestor categorii de copii.*"

[57] Archives du CMP de Iaşi, fonds 31, dossier 3/1982, fol. 142: "*se constată o creştere a numărului cazurilor ce sînt supuse comisiei la cererea directă a familiei. Cererea este formulată de unul sau ambii părinţi, fiind familii dezmembrate, de femei care au conceput copii în afara căsătoriei, iar alteori de cetăţeni care înţeleg greşit ocrotirea şi grija pe care o acordă statul minorilor.* [...] *s-a căutat să nu se înlesnească eludarea obligaţiei legale de întreţinere a părinţilor.*"

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institutionnalisés, mais bien à limiter l'accès aux institutions de protection, et à le réserver à ceux qui en ont réellement besoin.

Par ailleurs, dans une logique à la fois médicale et comptable, le lien avec la famille, et en particulier la mère, est parfois recherché. En effet, la pouponnière souffre, comme le reste de la population, d'une pénurie périodique de lait en poudre, et tente de substituer, à une alimentation dite "artificielle", l'alimentation naturelle, gratuite, régulière et réputée meilleure pour la santé. En 1986, par exemple, la directrice de la pouponnière de Iași propose "d'augmenter le nombre de mères qui allaitent et élèvent leur enfant à la pouponnière, au moins dans les trois premiers mois"[58]. De manière générale, il s'agit de favoriser le lien entre la famille et l'enfant, et surtout de placer les parents face à leurs responsabilités légales. Ces orientations semblent en opposition avec le fameux slogan : "faites des enfants, si vous ne pouvez pas vous en occuper, l'Etat s'en chargera!"[59], qui semble largement insuffisant pour expliquer le phénomène des orphelinats. Ici, c'est tout le contraire d'une déresponsabilisation de la famille qui semble visé.

En réalité, la propagande affirme régulièrement que la famille est la cellule de base de la société socialiste. Comme l'écrit Gail Kligman, "sous Ceausescu, on accordait à «la famille» une légitimité institutionnelle. En tant qu'institution sociale, la famille était réifiée dans les campagnes idéologiques comme la métaphore archétypique de l'ordre social lui-même"[60].

De même, les femmes sont présentées dans la propagande non pas seulement comme des "génitrices", mais aussi comme des éducatrices, comme les garantes de la vie de famille. A ce titre, une étude, menée sous l'égide de l'académie de sciences sociales et politiques, définit la famille comme "le facteur le plus important dans l'éducation de la jeune génération"[61]. En ce sens, le placement en institution d'Etat, pour des raisons budgétaires mais aussi idéologiques, doit être une mesure exceptionnelle.

L'avenir de l'enfant placé: entre la famille et les institutions

Que devient l'enfant institutionnalisé à la pouponnière? Les sources de la pouponnière de Iasi mentionnent trois possibilités. En 1970, "les enfants ayant quitté la pouponnière ont été rendus à leur famille, certains ont été transférés vers d'autres

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[58] Idem, dossier 1/1986, fol. 32: "*a crește numărul mamelor care să alăpteze și să crească copii în leagăn, cel puțin în primele 3 luni*".

[59] Voir C. Durandin, D. Tomescu, *op. cit.*, Saint-Ouen, 1988. Une anecdote citée Despina Tomescu rapporte cette phrase d'un professeur à ses élèves (p. 199). Cette phrase est souvent utilisée pour expliquer le phénomène d'institutionnalisation des enfants en Roumanie.

[60] G. Kligman, *op. cit.*, p. 28: "*Under Ceausescu, «the family» was accorded institutional legitimacy. As a social institution, the family was reified in ideological campaigns as the archetypal metaphors of the social order itself.*"

[61] Fonds de l'Académie des sciences sociales et politiques, section de psychologie si pédagogie, dossier 16/1976, fol. 6: "*factorul cel mai important în educarea tinerei generații*".

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institutions de protection, tandis que 16 ont été adoptés."[62] Un rapport de 1986 précise que "60% des enfants restent pris en charge d'une année sur l'autre, tandis que les 40% restants sont rendus à leur famille ou sont transférés vers d'autres unités de protection du département, 14 enfants ont été adoptés en 1985."[63]

Malheureusement, nous n'avons pas trouvé d'indications quantitatives précises, nous permettant d'établir des statistiques sur le devenir des enfants. On peut néanmoins retenir que les adoptions se pratiquent, bien qu'elles représentent une minorité (entre 3,5% et 4,5% des enfants ayant quitté la pouponnière de Iași en 1985). Par ailleurs, il est intéressant de noter que le transfert de la pouponnière vers une autre institution de protection n'est pas automatique: la possibilité du retour en famille est d'ailleurs citée en premier dans les différents rapports.

De manière schématique, on peut imaginer que les enfants admis à la pouponnière pour des raisons médicales et dont la vie n'est plus en danger, ou admis en raison d'une situation sociale ou familiale qui s'est amélioré durant la période d'institutionnalisation, sont rendus à leur famille. En revanche, ceux qui souffrent d'un handicap, ou d'une affection de longue durée, ceux dont la famille est durablement désorganisée ou dans l'impossibilité matérielle de les élever sont transférés vers d'autres institutions. L'adoption est sans doute réservée aux enfants réellement orphelins, ou abandonnés sans aucun administratif, qui sont, de droit, adoptables.

Ces indications, même succinctes, sur le devenir des enfants, nous permettent ainsi de relativiser l'idée selon laquelle les institutions de protection seraient un circuit fermé qui coupe définitivement les enfants de leur famille. Les passerelles entre la famille et les institutions existent, elles sont favorisées par l'idéologie et par les contraintes budgétaires. En réalité, le devenir des enfants est plus lié aux conditions matérielles et, en partie, à la bonne volonté des parents qu'au projet politique imputé à Nicolae Ceaușescu lors de son procès.

De cette étude sur les pouponnières, nous pouvons déjà tirer quelques conclusions liées à des problématiques plus globales de protection de l'enfance. Tout d'abord, la thèse selon laquelle le régime aurait favorisé, pour son bénéfice, l'institutionnalisation des enfants, ne semble guère confirmée. Bien au contraire, l'admission d'un enfant dans le système de protection représente un coût important, dont l'Etat préfère laisser la charge aux familles, à moins que celles-ci soient dans l'impossibilité de l'assumer. En revanche, le système économique et social ne semble pas avoir offert à toutes les familles des conditions matérielles suffisantes pour leur permettre d'élever leur enfant. C'est donc indirectement, à cause des contraintes

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[62] Archives du CMP de Iași (secteur sanitaire), Fonds 31, Dossier 87/1970, fol. 49: "*Copiii externați au fost redați familiei, unii au fost transferați în alte instituții de ocrotire, iar 16 au fost înfiați.*"

[63] Idem, Dossier 3/1986, fol. 58-59: "*rămîn în ocrotire de la un an la altul 60%, iar restul de 40% se externează în familii sau sînt transferați la alte unități de ocrotire din județ, înfiați (14 copii în 1985)*".

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économiques, que l'Etat a pu provoquer l'institutionnalisation d'une catégorie d'enfants, sans que celle-ci ne soit politiquement recherchée.

Par ailleurs, les enfants institutionnalisés semblent victimes, comme tout objet d'un plan de production, du règne des chiffres et des quantités, au détriment de la qualité. Les plaisanteries sur la faiblesse qualitative de la production industrielle roumaine de l'époque communiste sont légion, et, pour cynique qu'il soit, un parallèle peut être suggéré avec l'absence d'attention portée au développement affectif et psychomoteur des enfants. L'essentiel est que les enfants soient et ne disparaissent pas, que les chiffres mettent en évidence le travail exemplaire réalisé par les camarades. La vraie priorité de ces établissements est avant tout formelle: il ne s'agit pas d'élever des enfants, mais, dans la mesure du possible, de faire correspondre les rapports statistiques aux indications du plan de production.

Enfin, il est remarquable que, alors qu'il affiche par ailleurs des ambitions totalitaires, l'Etat n'accorde à ses enfants qu'une prise en charge partielle. Avant tout scolaire dans les "maison d'enfants", elle est presque exclusivement médicale dans les pouponnières. De fait, il ne semble pas exister de vision globale de l'enfant, dans ses différentes facettes et besoins, et l'idée de prise en charge globale de "l'enfance" est inexistante. De fait, les différents établissements de protection sont rattachés, suivant l'âge et la spécificité des bénéficiaires au Ministère de la Santé, au Ministère de l'Enseignement, ou au Ministère du Travail, chaque autorité de tutelle imposant, souvent de manière exclusive, sa propre perspective. Il faudra attendre 1997, et la création des directions de protection de l'enfance, pour que la prise en charge des enfants en difficulté soit considérée de manière globale, et que le travail éducatif tienne compte de la complexité des problématiques de l'enfance.

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Some Venetian Documents about Emerich Thököly's Uprising in Transylvania at the End of the 17th Century

Florina Ciure

Keywords: *Venetian Archives*; *Habsburg monarchy*; *Transylvania*; *Emerich Thököly*

A few years ago I wrote an article about the political movements in Transylvania during the last years of the 17th century, as they were seen by the Venetian ambassadors in the Ottoman Empire[1]. In my subsequent research I discovered another document in *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, which I want to present next, after a short description of Emerich Thököly's actions[2].

Born on September 25, 1657 at Kežmarok (now Slovakia), Emerich Thököly (Thököly/Tököly/Tökölli Imre in Hungarian; Imrich Tököli in Slovak, Emeric Thököly in Romanian) lost both parents while still a child. In December 1670, when his father Stephen Thököly, a participant of the anti-Habsburg Wesselenyi Conspiracy, was killed by Imperial troops when protecting his castle in northern Slovakia, he fled from the castle to Transylvania, where he took refuge with his kinsman Michael Teleki, the chief minister of Michael Apafi, prince of

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[1] Florina Ciure, *Il problema transilvano (1660-1695) nei dispacci dei rappresentanti diplomatici e dei dragomanni veneti presso la Porta*, in *l'Italia e l'Europa Centro-Orientale attraverso i secoli. Miscellanea di studi di storia politico-diplomatica, economica e dei rapporti culturali* (ed. by Cristian Luca, Gianluca Masi, Andrea Piccardi), Brăila-Venice, 2004, p. 183-229.

[2] About the military campaigns of Emerich Thököly, see some contemporary testimonies in Casimiro Freschot, *Idea generale del Regno d'Ungheria; sua descritione, costumi, regi, e guerre; con i motivi dell'ultima sollevatione, invasione de' Turchi, assedio, e liberatione di Vienna, e progressi dell'armi cristiane. Al Reverendissimo Padre Domino Pietro Sagredo abate, e Presidente Generale della Congregazione Casinense*, Venice, 1684, p. 165-168; *L'Ungheria compendiata dal Signor Conte Ercole Scala. Nuovamente stampata con le città più rimarcabili di quel Regno, che cadono scolpite all'oculare inspetione, come pure descritta la serie d'ogni suo Regnante, insieme con le più esatte prerogative, che universalmente accompagnano il Paese, riti, e costumi di quei popoli, e nel fine i gloriosi progressi fatti dall'armi Cesaree nel medesimo Regno dalla liberatione di Vienna, anno 1683, infino all'anno 1686; con l'assedio, e presa della Real Città di Buda, & altri felici successi. Consacrata Alla Sacra Cesarea Real Maestà di Eleonora Maddalena Teresa Imperatrice de' Romani sempre Augusta, nata Principessa di Neuburg*, Venice, 1687, p. 47-48; see also Carla Corradi, *Una curiosa eco veneziana della guerra contro il Turco in Ungheria*, in *Venezia e Ungheria nel contesto del barocco europeo* (ed. by Vittore Branca), Florence, 1979, p. 193-215; Béla Köpeczi, *L'eco italiana delle lotte per l'independenza ungherese contro gli Asburgo nella seconda metà del secolo XVII*, in *Venezia, Italia, Ungheria fra Arcadia e Illuminismo. Rapporti italo-ungheresi dalla presa di Buda alla rivoluzione francese* (ed. by B. Köpeczi and Péter Sárközy), Budapest, 1982, p. 23-33; Maria M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, *Campaniile Generalului Federico Veterani în Transilvania şi Banat (1686-1694) (după memoriile sale) (I)*, "Studii şi materiale de istorie medie" 17 (1999), p. 183-201.

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Transylvania[3]. Here Thököly came into contact with Protestants refugees from northern Hungary, dissatisfied by the intolerance promoted by the Catholic Church assisted by Vienna, and from March 11, 1678 he became their leader. Encouraged by promises of helping him from King Louis XIV of France (1643-1715) who, through the agreement from May 31, 1677 concluded by his representatives with Michael Teleki and Emerich Thököly engaged himself to support financially and military their movement, the anti-Habsburg rebellion irrupted in 1678. Eastern Slovakia and the central Slovak mining towns were soon in Thököly's possession. But after the Peace of Nijmegen (1679), Louis XIV stopped to subsidize the anti-Habsburg movement[4]. In the spring of year 1681 Emperor Leopold I signed a truce with Thököly, when he convoked the Diet and settled it at Ödenburg[5]. Convinced by the insistence of Thököly, the Sultan intervened directly in favor of Thököly în 1681, when the military Turkish forces initiated a campaign against the Imperial troops[6]. Whereas the negotiations from Ödenburg stagnated for the moment, he found a reason to break the truce with Vienna. In June 1682 he married Helen Zrinski (in Hungarian: Zrínyi Ilona, in Slovak: Jelena Zrinska, in Romanian: Elena Zrínyi), the widow of Prince Francis I Rákóczi, who inherited great domains in Slovakia and placed at his disposal a large territory and necessary ways to accomplish an anti-Habsburg policy[7]. In the course of the same year Thököly captured fortress after fortress (Kassa, Fülek, etc.) from the emperor and on September 16, 1682 the Sultan recognized him as King of "Upper Hungary". The twenty-five year old Thököly was prudent enough not to accept the title, being satisfied with the title of Prince of Hungary. Emeric Thököly advised the grand vizier to try to occupy Vienna, but the defeat of the Turkish under the walls of the imperial city (1683)[8] marked the brake of the balance between the two great

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[3] See David Angyal, *Kesmarky Thököly Imre 1657-1705* (2nd edition), Budapest, 1889.

[4] Avram Andea, Susana Andea, *Principatul Transilvaniei sub suzeranitate otomană (1541-1691)*, in *Istoria României – Transilvania*, I, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 617.

[5] Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Venezia, Vienna e i Turchi, bufera nel Sud-Est europeo, 1645-1700*, Milan, 1991, p. 370.

[6] Ioan Moga, *Rivalitatea polono-austriacă şi orientarea politică a Ţărilor Române la sfârşitul secolului XVII*, Cluj, 1933, p. 112-145; Ekkehard Eickhoff, *op. cit.*, Milan, 1991, p. 370; A. Andea, S. Andea, *op. cit.*, p. 617; see also László Benczédi, *The warrior estate in the Seventeenth century with special reference to the Thököly uprising (1678-1685)*, in *War and society in Eastern Central Europe*, III: *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi, war and society in late medieval and early modern Hungary* (ed. by János M. Bak, Béla K. Király), Brooklyn, N. Y., 1982, p. 351-365.

[7] Jean Nouzille, *Transilvania zonă de contacte şi conflicte*, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 179.

[8] See *La Sacra Lega contro la potenza ottomana. Successi delle armi imperiali, polacche, venete, e moscoviti; rotte e disfatte di eserciti de' Turchi, Tartari, e ribelli; assedj, e prese di città, piazze, e castelli; acquisti di provincie, di Regni; ribellioni, e sollevazioni nella monarchia ottomana; origine della ribellioni degli Ungheri, con tutti gli accidenti successivamente sopragiunti dall'anno 1683 sino fine del 1689. Racconti veridici brevemente descritti da* Don Simpliciano Bizozeri, *Barnabita Milanese*, Milan, 1690, p. 290-297; Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *BRIEVE STORIA,/ In cui si narrano le cagioni della passata Guerra/ FRA LO/ IMPERADORE, E LA CASA OTTOMANA,/ e ciòcche nell'assedio di Vienna,/ e per alcun tempo dapoi a Turchi avvenne,/ Composta da Uno Storico Turco,/e nella nostra volgare favella ridutta./* All'Illustrissimo, & Eccellentissimo Signore/ IL SIG. PIETRO/ SENATOR GARZONI./, Bologna, 1709, in *Scritti inediti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili raccolti e pubblicati nel II centenario dalla morte a cura di comitato marsiliano*, Bologna, 1930, p. 137-140; Virgil

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powers and the beginning of the inexorable decline of the Turkish power in Central-Eastern Europe. The Turkish grand vizier nevertheless laid the blame of the Turkish defeat in Vienna on Thököly, who thereupon hastened to Edirne to defend himself before the Turkish Sultan. After the Austrian victory, Thököly demanded the mediation of the Polish king John III Sobieski for reconciliation with the emperor, offering the ceasing of the hostilities if the Imperial Court gives religious freedom for the Protestants from Hungary and assures him the title of prince of Upper Hungary. Leopold refused these terms and asked him for unconditioned surrender. Thököly renewed military hostilities but the campaign of 1685 was a series of disasters. After the conquest of Ersekujvar by General Schultz, the Ottomans decided to imprison him. In October 15, 1685 Ahmed Pascià, the governor of Oradea, ordered Emerich Thököly's caption, while 5,000 rebels, after the desegregation of his army, managed to take refuge in Munkacs, a city which Helen Zrinyi defended it, in a heroic way, by the Imperial siege for three years, until January 1688, when she surrendered herself to general Caraffa[9].

In 1686 Thököly was released from his dungeon and sent with a small army in Transylvania, but both this expedition and a similar one in 1688 ended in failure. The Turks then again grew suspicious of him, because of his dishonest attitude, and imprisoned him for a second time. At Michael Apafi's death, which took place on April 15, 1690, his son was elected prince, but in July the Sultan named Emeric Thököly as the ruler of the principality. With the assistance of Constantine Brâncoveanu, Wallachia's ruler, and with the support of Turks and Tartars, Thököly obtained on August 21 the victory against the imperial army in the battle of Zărneşti, South-West of Braşov, where General Donat Heissler was captured[10]. In Heissler, Thököly had a valuable prisoner whom he was eager to exchange for his wife, Helen. Concocted on September 15 at Cristian, near Sibiu, the Diet of Transylvania elected him as prince, confirming *de jure* Sultan's decision[11]. However, Emeric Thököly's rule was brief, as he was defeated on October 25 by the Imperials, being forced to seek for refuge in Wallachia. Settled at Palanka, on the Lower Danube, where he was reunited with his wife, Thököly still commanded a retinue of 2,000 adherents while enjoying a yearly allowance of 10,000 talérs from "the Sun King" of France. He continued to participate in anti-Imperial campaigns, leading the Turkish cavalry in the battles of Salankemen (1691) and Zenta (1697). Since 1695 he is appointed count of Vidin by the Sultan and in 1700 he had one more unsuccessful attempt to recover his principality. In 1696 the Sultan, pressured by Vienna, ordered him to move to Constantinople with their entourage reduced to a minimum. In 1701, after years of modest living, Viennese influence prompted the Sultan to send him even further. A

Zaborovschi, *Istoria politicei externe a celor trei principate, Ţara Românească, Transilvania şi Moldova, de la asediul Vienei (1683) până la moartea lui Şerban Cantacuzino şi suirea pe tron a lui Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688)*, Bucharest, 1925, p. 17-45.

[9] J. Nouzille, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[10] Constantin Rezachevici, *Constantin Brâncoveanu – Zărneşti 1690*, Bucharest, 1989, p. 183-208.

[11] S. Andea, *Evoluţii politice în secolul al XVII-lea. De la Ştefan Bocskai la Mihail Apafi*, in *Istoria Transilvaniei*, II: *De la 1541 până la 1711* (ed. by Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler, Magyari András), Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 120.

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little village called Bithynia in Nicomedia in Asia Minor (now Izmit, Turkey) became the final place of his exile. Emeric Thököly passed away on September 12, 1705, at the age of forty-eight. On his grave the epitaph says: "*Bene sperando et male habendo transit vita*", meaning "Our life passes in hoping for good and experiencing ill"[12].

The documents from *Inquisitori di Stato* and *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, both meaning letters received by Thököly from certain confidents as well as those sent to the Venetian representatives at Costantinopole, which describe the events of the period between 1684 and 1700, demonstrate the importance of Thököly's anti-Habsburg uprising for the ruling class of the lagoon city, the *Serenissima* being directly interested in the evolution of the relations between the two great powers. The description with exactness of each step taken by the rebels' leader proves also the degree of knowledge in Venice of the realities of this part of Europe.

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

I

1684 a 9 Dicembre
Al Signor Ambasciator Pauluzzi

[...] li concetti che si formano dopo la levata dell'assedio di Buda. Dove, è contro che pensano spinger a primo tempo il maggior sforzo delle loro armi. Oltre di ciò riesce sommamente medesimo, che ella tenga fissa l'attentione alli Maneggi tutti, che potessero esser introdotti, nemmeno da Turchi con Imperiali, ò polacchi, per trattati di pace, et da contesto Signor Ambasciator Christianesimo con polacchi, Techieli, ò altri ribelli Ongari a beneficio de Turchi medesimi.

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b.[usta] 148, *Lettere ai baili ed ambasciatori*, 1585-1688, c.[arta] 81, contemporary copy)

II

1685, 14 Aprile
Al Signor Ambasciator Paulucci à Costantinopoli

[...] meritano particularmente attentione li maneggi del Gionachi Dragoman dell'Imperatore i havendo havuto doi audienze dal primo Visir, è che ci viene rifferto pratticar egli frequenti speditioni di lettere per via di Ragusa. Parimente vorera ella estendir le sue prudenti indagationi per scoprire se vi fossero trattati di Pace tra la Porta e Polonia, con il mezzo del Can de Tartari, Moldavi et altri come pure del Ambasciatore di

[12] Stephen Sisa, *The Spirit of Hungary: A Panorama of Hungarian History and Culture* (3rd edition), Ontario, 1995, p. 112.

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Francia mediatore il Thecheli, Valacho, o altri partiali della Porta, e confidenti di cotesto Ambasciatore christianesimo.

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 148, *Lettere ai baili ed ambasciatori*, 1585-1688, c. 85, contemporary copy)

III

Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor mio Signor Provveditore Colendissimo

Corre voce, che li Turchi facciano fagotu in Kaminies, dicono per abbandonare la piazza. Illustrissimo Re si mostra impaciente dell'effecto, che dice faciliterà le actioni della Campagna ventura, l'esito verificherà la verità.

Lunga Ziffra del Hospodaro di Moldavia avvertisse il Re, che Imperiali disegnino mandare per Transilvania nuovo principe in Polonia, et mi disse la Maestà sua essere inventione del Primo Visir, solito allarmare li Spiriti con queste fabule. Jo la credo più tosta Farina del Marchese di Retthunes, scrivendo quasi le stesse cose l'Abbaffi con chi ha intavolata nuova confidenza, cosi pericolosa come quella con Thokoly. So da parte certissima che l'Abbaffi nomina nelle sue lettere il Duca di Lorena, come se volesse piantarsi ai Confini con farse Imperiali per il caso, che suppone prossimo della mancanza della Corona, il che facendo sospectare macchine contro la vita del Re, causa gelosie in questi spiriti suscettibili d'ogni sospetto. Di più Rethunes consiglia l'Abbaffi di darsi alla protettione del Re, et poi promette quello del Principe Christianesimo, si che forse sopra di questo motivo si daranno commissioni accertate al [the governor of Poland] Scudo humilio per notitia dovuta dell'Eccellenze Vostre, rastigrandomi con profondissimo rispecto.

Di Vostra Eccellenza
26 Febraio 1686
Girolamo Alberti

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci dei Residenti in Polonia 1586-1754*, b. 470, cc. nn.[not numbered], original)

IV

L'avvisi scritti da Buda alli 12 e 17 Maggio 1686, e portati a Sua Maestà Cesarea

[...] Jn Temisvar si trova il Mehmet Passa con due mille homini.

Jn Varadino si trova il Mehmet Passa che fu per il passato Ciausbassi con tre mille homini.

[...] Qui si hebbe avviso che sotto Temisvar fossero arrivati trenta mille Tartari, e dopo si è saputo da persone che sono venute da Temisvar dicendo che siano dieci mille se bene si stima che non arrivi a cinque mille Tartari, e per dir la verità, qui si dice, che seguitarono quelli Tartari il Gran Vesiro. Pero molti sono d'opinione che il Vesiro vorrà costituire questi sodetti tartari col Tekeli per liberare Mongazz, ch'a questo effetto si trova il Tekeli in Temisuar aspettando gli ordini del Gran Vesiro [...].

(*Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 701, cc. nn., original)

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V

Relatione del Marcino Conte Lorenesse
Stato della Turchia

[...] La Francia assiste con ogni amicizia alla Turchia, li da consiglij avvisi, denari à Techeli, regali a tartari, a segno che mi è venuto un dubbio che li Turchi sollecitati dalla Francia à continuar la guerra che non fa mai altro non gli rispondino, noi continueremo con l'Imperator con tutte le forze, e voi rompete con veneziani, aiutateci voi contro questi inimici, e noi vi aiuteremo contro quello, è un sospetto che non fa danno l'haverlo detto benché fosse lontanissimo.

[...] li Tartari questo inverno hanno saccheggiato la Transilvania, e questo fatto è stato ricevuto con grand' amarezza da quelli signori transilvani che sono in Andrianopoli come cosa fatta contro la fede data e se ne sono espressi meco con grand'alteration d'animo.

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere al Bailo da Pubblici Rappresentanti persone private con altre carte relative al bailaggio*, 1530-1694, b. 433, c. 2, original)

VI

All' Secretario Alberti in Polonia

Le lettere scrittoci da V. S. Ecc. sotto li 2 del corrente di contenute importante, saranno comunicate al Governo per lume, et a lei dicono il mio gradimento, assicurandoci che del particolare espresso nelle medesime lettere concernente la moglie del Techeli bavera portate le notizie all'Ambasciator Corner a Vienna per suo lume, e ci continuerà a vogliergli del di più che andar poteva [indescifrabil] gendo.

Corner Inquisitore
Giovannimarcelo Inquisitore
Marco Zuanne Inquisitore

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere ai Residenti in Polonia*, 1645-1718, b. 164, c. 22, contemporary copy)

VII

Nella Transilvania sempre più vigoroso si renderà il partito del nuovo principe Abaffy, e maggiormente si stabiliva l'autorità di Sua Maestà Cesarea procurandosi di purgare da cattivi humori quella Provincia col castigo de delinquenti, ch'è però un Jdra di molti capi.

Quel General Haisler già rilasciato dal Tekely con la conditione, che già avvisai, sentesi, che si sa posto in viaggio verso questa parte, insieme con il Marchese Doria, et in 20 mila ongari effettivi habbia stabilito il riscatto.

Vienna 3 dicembre 1690
Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima
Humilissimo Servitor
Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

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VIII

[...] Fra tanto haver insinuato al Re, che farebbe cosa grata al Cristianesimo di non impedire li passi al Teocholi con alcune ragioni di mal politico, et peggio per non, che compliva alla Polonia d'haver in Transilvania, et in Ongaria per confinanti li Techeli, Turchi, e Tartari più tosto, che l'Imperatore; et per accreditare il suo ministerio promesse a Croijti di non desistere dalla traccia di ribelle pratiche, pur che la Regina non lo sturbi, riportandosi ad anteriore informazioni precedentemente date dalla parzialità della Maestà Sua per Casa d'Austria. Si ha poi confronto in esse lettere alquanto umiliai a Vostra Eccellenza a primo Novembre passato, ch'il Gran generale fosse d'inteligenza con lui per ritirare, come ha fatto, cosi presto le Truppe a quartiere d'Inverno, scrivendo Rettunes pur troppo, che a Rochevelle aveva persuaso, ma non appare da queste lettere la summa da lui speta in questo negozio. Si vede bene, che vuol entrare in misura con esso Gran Signore per commentare come proteggere il Teocholi. Dice che Jo solo gli rompo tutte le misure, et mi accusa appresso il Cristianesimo, quasi che non fosse la mia primaria et unica inspetione quella de preservare la lega, non egli per tratti li modi varrebbe rompere, e dar ad intendere à questa Corte che la buona politica vogli, che faci una pace particolare col Turco, ch'assise a Techelli, che manchi alla fede giurata, et che e esponghi ad una guerra certa con moscoviti, et ad una recidiva prossima con li Turchi, et tutto per compiacer alla Francia, quale vorrebbe, che muovesse à sua contemplatione una guerra di diversione contra l'elettore di Brandemburgo [...].

Zorlkerr 13 dicembre 1690

Girolano Alberti

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci dei Residenti in Polonia 1586-1754*, b. 470, cc. nn., contemporary copy decoding the encoded original)

IX

Signor mio

Quanto si credeva, che dovesse qua pervenire il Signor Principe Luigi di Baden, s'hebbe con espresso notitia, che non fosse per anco giunto à Zatmar, e campeggiasse tuttavia tre leghe da quella Piazza sulle Frontiere di Transilvania.

[...] et intanto nella Transilvania, benché alcuni di quei Magnati si mostrassero all'Imperatore ben inclinati, ad ogni modo tra i popoli si scoprivano mali humori non avvezzi questi à vivere sotto il governo Alemanno. Rigorosa inquisitione però faceva il General Veterani contro i mali intenzionati, specialmente contro quelli, che favorivano l'ingresso del Tekely in quel Principato, e col consiglio, e con l'armi. Otto Reggimenti sotto il suo commando ha il medesimo General Veterani, ma assai scemati, coi quelli devi guardar molti passi, massime attesa l'incostanza, e mala affettione de' Transilvani medesimi, ch'incontrando qualche soldato alemanno l'uccidono. Jl General Haisler, fu appunto da quegli habitanti ammazzato, e gettato in un Fiume, di che solo adesso sì è havuta notitia, dopo essersi stato all'oscuro del di lui essere, et altri barbari trattamenti sono stati in quelle parti praticati contro non pochi de' Nostri soldati.

Vienna 17 dicembre 1690

Obbligatissimo et Humilissimo Servitor

Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

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X

Signor mio

Sopra il ragguaglio giunto al signor principe Luigi di Baden, che quel Corpo de Turchi, che haveva di là del Tibisco ruinato, e obbligato à contributione il Paese, s'avanzasse verso la Transilvania, havendo prima distribuito ne' Quartieri i Reggimenti, dalle lunghe marchie indeboliti, ad ambi le rive del detto Fiume, s'era mosso con 4 mila huomini svelti, e veterani, per lo più cavallaria, lasciato indietro, per minor imbarazzar il bagaglio verso la Transilvania ad oggetto d'attraversare i nemici attentati. S'era anco risaputo, che con espresso Chiaus fosse arrivato ordine del Visir al Bassà Comandante di quel Corpo d'Armata, et al Tekely di dover rientrar in quel principato, per mettersi in possesso di esso, et obbligare alla di lui ubbidienza quei popoli [...].

Per il riscatto del general Haisler s'è raccolto dalle borse particolari di General Colonelli, et Ufficialli Cesarei esistenti in Transilvania 2500 Ongari, e si sono mandati al Tekely col Marchese Doria un Sergente maggiore e due Capitani, quali restano in qualità d'ostaggi per il rimanente della ranzone dell'Haisler, cui viene intanto da esso Tekely permesso di venirsene à questa Corte.

Vienna 24 dicembre 1690

Di Vostra Signoria Jllustrisima

Obbligatissimo et Humilissimo Servitor

Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

XI

Signor mio

D'altro successo nella Transilvania verso la Valachia ha portato la notizia Corriero Martedì passato, cioè che comandato il principe Augusto di Hannover Sergente General de Battaglia con 700 cavalli a riconoscere un passo angusto, che da l'adito nella Transilvania chiamato Chermes, dove erano 1500 Ribelli, et avanzatosi egli con troppo inconsiderata bravura e con pochissima gente à piedi, fosse da molte Archibugiate trafitto, e morto, ritiratosi quei pochi, che la seguivano, et alcuni ancora feriti.

S'intende essere stato per ordine del Sultano e con espresso spedito al Tekely, richiesto il General Heisler suo prigioniero per condurlo a Costantinopoli, forse per animare i Popoli alla continuatione della Guerra con la mostra di si rinomato Generale dell'Imperatore, e far credere qualche segnalata Vittoria, non le haveva però il capo Ribelle concesso, anzi fino alli 15 del caduto mese s'era il Colonnello March Doria portata al Tekely per ricostituirsi prigione et avvisarlo d'esser pronti 2300 ongari d'oro, come pure il Sergente maggiore e due Capitanij del reggimento d'esso Heisler pronti à depositarsi in luogo del loro Generale, accioche possa venire à Vienna à procurar il restante, per il proprio riscatto, e del Doria, di che s'attende l'esito.

Vienna 21 Gennaro 1691

Di Vostra Signoria Jllustrisima

Obbligatissimo et Humilissimo Servitor

Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

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XII

Signor mio

È stato, con permissione del Tekely, spedito dal Generale Heisler à questa Corte un suo Paggia con lettere dirette al Signor Principe Luigi di Baden, con le quali raccontando il calamitoso stato, in cui l'ha posto la sua prigionia, aggiuntivi i molestissimi disaggi di continue marchie, e contromarchie, onde è caduto in pericolosa malattia, implora l'autorevole protettione di Sua Maestà per poter essere restituito alla Libertà. Dalla voce del medesimo Paggio è stata confermata la missione, che con le precedenti a Vostra Signoria partecipai, d'un Chiaus dalla Porta con instanze che colà fosse mandato il medesimo Generale Heisler, da che s'era sottratto il Tekely con legittime scuse, specialmente per essersi già accordato il di lui riscatto, e perciò avesse con termini ufficiosi, e di rispetto verso il Sultano, rispedito lo stesso Chiaus.

Da Zeiden, luogo di Transilvania, quartiere del Generale Co: Veterani s'hanno nella settimana cadente lettere di 15 stante. Rifferiscono, che avanzatisi 400 mila Cavalli sotto il Commando del Tenente Colonnello Baron Chiaviraij nella Valachia, sull'avviso, che verso Campolongo si trovasse qualche numero di Ribelli, riuscisse loro di giungere la retroguardia del Tekely, quale virilmente attaccata, uccidessero sopra cento di quei tristi, con l'acquisto di 200 cavalli, e facessero alcuni prigioni. Questi costituiti negavano di sapere versò dove fosse il Tekely per rivolgersi. Che però li 20 mila Turchi e Tartari ultimamente scacciati dalla Transilvania fermino tuttavia tra Lippa, e Jeno, se ne hanno rincontrai, e che anzi tenessero in continuo moto le nostre milizie alloggiate nella Transilvania, dove sono i Nostri obbligati ad una continua vigilanza dagl'assidui movimenti del Tekely, in onta de'rigori della stagione, e delle nevi copiose, ch'hanno coperto il Paese. Anco i Nostri, ciò non ostante, non lasciano d'operar quanto possono contro il Nemico, essendosi inoltrato un grosso Corpo d'essi sotto à filo de Sciabla la Guarnigione Turchesca, lo che pur facevo a Lugos, e presidiati con soldatesca Cesarea quei luoghi, tornarono Vittoriosi a Quartieri.

Doveva il giorno predetto de 15, riassumersi in Fogoras la Dieta de Stati per trovar il fondo de contribuire il contante per sussistenza della Cesarea milizia, e per disporre il modo, di mettere il Paese in istato di buona difesa.

Che la prefata occasione si sente ancora, che meglio disposto apparisse verso le soldatesche Alemanne il principe di Valachia, ammaestrato dall'esperienza che maggiori danni havesse patito il suo paese dai Ribelli, che da Tedeschi.

Vienna 28 Gennaro 1691
Di Vostra Signoria Jllustrisima
Obbligatissimo et Humilissimo Servitor
Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

XIII

Signor mio

Con la diligenza delle Poste sono in questa settimana capitati qua dalla Transilvania diversi ufficiali. Portano lettere di 18 Genaro da Zeyden, e Rosenau frontiere di quella Provincia verso la Valacchia. Si ricava da esse in sostanza il sospetto, in cui si

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stava colà, che il Corpo de' Turchi e Tartari ultimamente cacciati da quel Principato, potessero congiungersi al Tekely, e tentar di rientrarvi. Scrivono però anco che rese assai languide le forze del Capo Ribelle, il pessimo stato de' Cavalli, e la penuria de viveri, occasionava continue fughe, si degl'Alemanni, che rimasti prigioni, erano stati astretti a militare sotto le di lui insegne, che de Siculi, questi tornando alle proprie Cose, quelli riconducendosi à proprij Reggimenti. Faceva pertanto alto esso Tekely nella Valachia al fiume Aluta, onde i Nostri disegnavano di non abbandonare quelle frontiere, per non lasciarle esposte all'aggressioni de'Ribelli guardandole anzi con vigilanza.

Più renitente che mai si mostra il Fellone dal dare libertà al Generale Heisler, accresciuta anzi la pretensione per il riscatto da 20, a 25 mila ongari d'oro. Il Marchese Doria tra l'incostanza delle pretensioni di detto Tekely, stava tuttavia in Cronstatt, con disegno di tornar a Vienna, à procurar alcun mezzo, per la redentione di quel bravo Generale.

Nella stessa Città di Cronstatt ferma parimente il General Pace, per custodire quel Posto, per il quale entrò il Tekely l'Agosto passato, et il Generale risiede in Hermanstatt, donde può ad'ogni accorrere ad ogni parte.

Vienna 4 Febbraio 1691
Di Vostra Signoria Jllustrisima
Obbligatissimo et Humilissimo Servitor
Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

XIV

Signor mio

Non si mete in dubbio l'arrivo di Sultan Galga con 15 mila Tartari per congiungersi con Tekely a danni della Transilvania. Ne' contornij di Varadino, accampati quei barbari, scorrevano senz'oppositione quel Paese, et inoltratisi fin al ponte de Zolnoch improvvisamente, uccisero alcuni Villani, e depredarono più di mille capi d'animali grossi, e minuti.

Vienna 11 Febbraio 1691
Di Vostra Signoria Jllustrisima
Obbligatissimo et Humilissimo Servitor
Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

XV

Signor mio

Di duplicati vantaggi riportati da Christiani sopra Turchi, Tartari e Ribelli si sono ricevuti in questa settimana gl'avvisi. Dall'Ungheria Superiore giunse, Martedì scorso, un soldato Unghero, mandato dal General Ciaki colla relazione, che sortiti da Varadino mille, o cent'huomini delle tre suddette Nationi, havessero d'improviso invaso due Villaggi, ove erano acquartierati alcuni de'Nostri e fossero, bensi alcuni di questi per tale inquinata aggressione, rimasti ultima dalle sciable nemiche, et altri fatti prigioni, ma

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avanzandosi poi i Barbari ad'altro Villaggio dove erano gia stati avvertiti li Nostri della predetta hostile invasione, e postisi perciò in buona difesa. Giunto nel medesimo tempo l'avviso al General Ciaki, egli con tutta sollecitudine uni 100 de' più bravi Usari, e cinquanta ben montati Cavali Alemanni, con essi marchiò celereremente contro l'inimico, et avvicinandosi al Villaggio, dove i Nostri tuttavia diffendevansi bravamente, inverti alle spale con si virile risolutione et intrepido coraggio i Barbari [...].

Non poca lode ha in questa Corte acquistato il predetto General Ciaki per il valore mostrata in quell'incontro pericoloso, havendo in tal guisa rappreso l'ardire dell'Inimico, che dal primo vantaggio reso [...].

Gli insoffribili patimenti di freddo, e fame havevano finalmente sforzato la maggior parte de Ribelli alla ritirata, et Tekely che con soli 2 mila huomini si trovava nella Valachia à Bugarest, era in necessità di viveri, e di foraggi, onde credendosi passerebbe à prendere verso Orsova il quartiero e'l riposo dopo si lunga Campagna. Ciò stante per questa scrivono da Ermanstatt li 2 del corrente, anco li Reggimenti Cesarei s'erano dalle frontiere di Valachia ridotti a Quartieri, in tal guisa però desposti che puonò, ricercandolo il bisogno brevemente riunirsi, poste anco ai passi più gelosi buone guardie contro qualche attentato, che potessero i nemici intraprendere.

Vienna 18 Febbraio 1691
Di Vostra Signoria Jllustrissima
Obbligatissimo et Humilissimo Servitor
Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

XVI

Signor mio

Haveva il medesimo Visir fatto esporre la Coda di Cavallo in segno della vicina marchia, disegnata per li 5 corrente, con fama, ch'arrivassero le sue forze à 240 mila Combattenti, e che trepartite, 100 mila d'esso fossero disposti per passare sotto la di lui condotta ad Essech, e sortendogli d'espugnar quel Posto, inoltrarsi à Buda. Che un altro Corpo di 15 mila sotto il Commando del Bassa della Bossina, opererà al Fiume Unna, et il terzo sotto le direttione del Tekely sarà destinato ad invader la Transilvania, dovendosi a lui congiungere per tal effetto i Principi di Valachia, e di Moldavia, et alcune migliaia di Tartari. Erasi il Capo Ribelle introdotto in Temesvar con 3 mila huomini la maggior parte Tedeschi, mantenuti, come s'intende, dal denaro di Francia, e per rinforzare le proprie Truppe sin' al medesimo di 6 mila, 35 mila talleri gl'erano giunti di Turchia.

Vienna 8 Aprile 1691
Di Vostra Signoria Jllustrisima
Obbligatissimo et Humilissimo Servitor
Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

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XVII

Signor mio

Alcune lettere si sono vedute ch'avvisano la morte del Tekely, e che al commando delle di lui Truppe havesse pro interim il Serascher deputato il Petrozzi altro principal Ribelle sin ad'altra deliberatione del Visir. Poca fede però esige tale notitia havutosi da esploratori, e tanto meno, quanto che per altra parte vien riferito trovarsi il Tekely stesso à Temesvar, dove accudiva à render più forte Campagna, con danaro somministratogli dalla Francia per mezzo del suo Ministro Residente alla Porta.

Vienna 15 Aprile 1691
Di Vostra Signoria Jllustrisima
Obbligatissimo et Humilissimo Servitor
Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

XVIII

Signor mio

Sfilano più anco alla volta della rassegna generale quei Reggimenti che si trovavano alloggiati nella Transilvania, dopo haver cacciato da quella Provincia il Tekely, quali già passato il Tibisco, furono incontrati vicino d'Agria da un Ufficiale giunto qua l'altro ieri, che ne ha dato notitia, e perché non sono per anco né compiti, né rimontati, a Buda riceveranno le Redutte, e le rimonte. Colla partenza però d'essi Reggimenti dalla Transilvania restano assai deboli in quella parte le forze, lo apprendono i Comandanti delle medesime, ancorché per l'altra parte non resti nudo d'ogni apprensione d'essere sorpreso da'Nostri il Tekely, che perciò si fortificava in un luogo chiamato Kraiova.

Vienna 6 Maggio 1691
Di Vostra Signoria Jllustrisima
Obbligatissimo et Humilissimo Servitor
Girolamo Bianchi

(ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte dei Confidenti*, b. 552, cc. nn., original)

XIX

Serenissimo Princeps

Dell'ultimo giorno dell'anno ho dato un solenne pranzo alla Principessa moglie del Tekeli, accompagnata poi pubblicamente sopra la porta superiore del suo recinto alle quattro strade.

Pera di Costantinopoli 18 Gennaio 1699

(ASV, *Bailo a Costantinopoli, Dispacci*, b. 49, c. 8, contemporary copy)

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XX

Serenissimo Princeps

Qui s'attrova il Teccheli con la moglie ma in fortuna assai humile, per non dire abietta, godeva prima un appannaggio, che li fruttava dodici reali al giorno, oltre li commestibili, minorato hora à soli 5 reali, e con assegnamento lontano, et incerto a chiprovar di qua dai monti della Servia verso il Danubio [...].

La Principessa, moglie del suddetto Techeli mi ha fatto fare positiva impresa d'essere a vedermi, ma io per li riguardi molto ben compresi dalla pubblica sapienza, me ne sono con desterità scansato; ho però mandato il mio Cappellano, senza osservatione, a giustificare le mie riserve, facendole conconscere non poter io partire l'incomodo d'una Dama; ne essere la mia habitatione aggiustata per il suo ricevimento, di che fu pienamente appagata.

Pera di Costantinopoli li 29 Novembre 1699

(ASV, *Bailo a Costantinopoli, Dispacci*, b. 49, c. 6, contemporary copy)

XXI

Serenissimo Princeps

Scansato da me, come in passato ho humilmente rifferito all'Eccelenzie Vostre la visita della Principessa Tekely, questa mi ha fatto pervenire l'annessa lettera, e col mezzo del Religioso in essa nominato, tentato d'interesar la Signoria Vostra in uffitij à Vienna per liberatione del proprio Fratello già arrestato, et imputato di complicità nelle passati ribellioni degl'altri suoi congiunti; ma io non sono con civiltà, e desterità tenuto lontano da ogni positivo impegno, dandoli solo intentione, ch'haverri io scritto precisamente all'Eccellentissimo Signor Ambassador Loredan a Vienna per sapere lo stato delle cose, e per farli poi arrivare ciò, che ricavarsi.

Ho trovato la medesima Dama, d'attrovare corrispondenza anco col Cesare o Ministro col mezzo d'una lettera, ed incontro per strada, ma non voluta quella riceveri, ne fermarsi in questa; pare, che fin'hora esso Ministro dissimula permanenza qui del Tekeli, ma lo conosce tollerato contro li patti accordati à Carlovitz, non ha però fato alcuna instanza perché sia fatto allontanare in essecutione delle sue capitolationi.

Pera di Costantinopoli, li 16 Marzo 1700

(ASV, *Bailo a Costantinopoli, Dispacci*, b. 49, c. 14, contemporary copy)

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Two Letters of the Armenians in Transylvania to the Holy See from 1689

Kornél Nagy

Keywords: *Papal Archives*; *Armenians*; *Transylvania*; *17th century*

Introduction

In February 1689, an Armenian delegation arrived from Transylvania to Lemberg (Pol. *Lwów*, Russ. *L'vov*, Arm. *Lewonopol*, now *Lviv* in Ukraine). The intention of this delegation was primarily to make a confession of faith and declare officially the church-union with the Roman Catholic Church on behalf of the whole Armenian community in Translvania in Armenian Uniate Archbishop, Vardan Hunanean's (1644-1715) presence in Lemberg.

While making the confession of faith, the Armenians in Transylvania wrote two letters in Armenian (with their translation in Latin) addressed to the Holy See. One letter was written to the Pope himself, and one letter to the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*), the Holy See's Missionary Institution in Rome. In these two documents, the Armenians humbly and kindly asked the Holy See to appoint and ordain for them Oxendio Virziresco (Arm. *Ōgsēntios Vrcrēsgul*) (1654-1715) as a Uniate Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania who had been working as a missionary delegated from Rome in Transylvania since 1685[1].

The aforementioned documents emerged from the Historical Archive of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome a few years ago. Furthermore, these two documents can be found in the document series of the so-called Particular Sessions (*Congregatio Particularis, Congregzione Particolare*) at the above-mentioned archive. This Session at the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith primarily focused upon special missionary cases or issues, namely declarations of the church-unions, confessions of faith, or missionary bishops' or prefects' nominations and appointments, etc. Generally, this Session was informally sitting between two official General Sessions (*Congregatio Generalis,*

[1] Archivio storico della Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o de "Propaganda Fide" (Rome, Italy) [hereafter, APF], Congregazioni Particolari, vol. 29 [hereafter, CP], fol. 644r, 647r-v. The documents were translated into Latin by Basilio Barsegh (Arm. *Basil Parsēlean*), a Uniate Armenian Priest, who worked for the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith as a missionary specialised in Armenian ecclesiastical cases in the late 17th century. See further on: APF, CP, fol. 645r, 648r-v.

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Congregazione Generale) in the presence of the higher leadership of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome[2].

The history of Armenians in Transylvania, who escaped from Moldavia (Arm. *Pułtan*) and Poland (Arm. *Lehk'*) between 1668 and 1672, is regarded practically as an undiscovered area from the perspective of the international church-historical studies. Because of the Armenians' active participation in revolts against the hard fiscal policy pursued by Gheorghe Duca (1668-1684), Prince of Moldavia in 1668, and the Polish-Ottoman wars broken out in 1672, the Armenians with their spiritual leader, Minas (Alēk'sanean) T'oxat'ec'i (ca. 1610-1686), Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians in Moldavia, were obliged to flee from Moldavia to Transylvania[3].

The Armenian refugees consciously chose Transylvania, because they had more or less exact information about the relatively tolerant religious policy pursued by the Transylvanian Principality, which was led by the politically strong Protestant *élite*. Indeed, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox believers and Jews had been living in a relative peace for more than a century in Transylvania. However, according to the laws of the Transylvanian Principality, which were created as a reaction to the increasing expansion of the Counter-Reformation in the neighbouring Hungarian provinces, strongly supported by the Habsburg Court in Vienna, the Roman Catholics were not permitted to have their own Diocesan Bishop until the very end of the 17th century. Therefore, the Roman Catholics' cases in Transylvania had been dealt with by a Roman Catholic Episcopal Vicar, appointed by the Protestant Princes of Transylvania personally since the early 17th century[4].

The Apostolic-believer Armenians established themselves dispersedly in Transylvania, forming economically strong colonies in towns and villages, like Alba Iulia (Ger. *Karlsburg* or *Weissenburg*, Hung. *Gyulafehérvár*), Batos (Ger. *Botsch*, Hung. *Bátos*, Arm. *Padōš*), Bistriţa (Ger. *Bistritz*, Hung. *Beszterce*, Arm. *Pistric'*), Fogaraş (Ger. *Fogarasch*, Hung. *Fogaras*, Arm. *Fōk'araš*), Frumoasa (Hung.

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[2] *Litterae missionarium de Hungaria et Transylvania (1572-1717)* (ed. by István György Tóth), 1, Rome-Budapest, 2002, p. 62-63.

[3] Initially, the Armenians just wanted to stay provisory in Transylvania, because they had an intention of returning to Moldavia upon consolidation of the political situation there. Consequently, after Prince Gheorghe Duca's final fall in 1684, many Armenians left Transylvania and returned to Moldavia. Thus, a fragmentary manuscript written in Armenian remained from Bishop Minas, narrating that he was consumed with desire to be back to Moldavia. Bishop Minas feared that he would be removed from his diocese on account of his escape from Moldavia. APF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi [hereafter, SC], Fondo Armeni, vol. 1, fol. 525r-526v, 602r-610v; Matenadaran [National Archive of Republic of Armenia] (Yerewan, Armenia) [hereafter, MA], Manuscripta [hereafter, MS], nos 5350, 6582, 9800; Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem. Egyetemi Könyv- és Kézirattár [Archive and Library of the Lóránd Eötvös State University] (Budapest, Hungary) [hereafter, ELTE EKK], Collectio Hevenesiana [hereafter, Coll. Hev.], Cod. 21, p. 81; *Kamenic': Taregirk' Hayoc' Lehastani ew Ţumenioy*, Venice, 1896, p. 127, 197; Suren K'olanĵian, *Les Arméniens en Transylvanie en Xe-XVIIIe siècle*, "Revue des études arméniennes", new series, 4 (1967), p. 355-376 (359, 362).

[4] Ferenc Galla, *Ferences misszionáriusok Magyarországon: a Királyságban és Erdélyben a 17-18. században* (ed. by István Fazekas), Budapest-Rome, 2005, p. 269-274; Antal Molnár, *Lehetetlen küldetés? Jezsuiták Erdélyben és Felső-Magyarországon a 16-17. században*, Budapest, 2009, p. 218-222.

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Csikszépvíz, Arm. *Sip'kic'*), Gheorgheni (Ger. *Niklasmarkt*, Hung. Gyergyószentmiklós, Arm. *Čurčōv*), Gurghiu (Hung. *Görgényszentimre*, Arm. *Ĵurĵin*), Petelea (Ger. *Birk*, Hung. *Petele*, Arm. *Bēt'ēlē*), Remetea (Hung. *Gyergyóremete*, Arm. Ṛēmēdē), Suseni (Ger. *Pränzdorf*, Hung. *Marosfelfalu*, Arm. *Felfalō*) and Târgu Secuiesc (Hung. *Székelyudvarhely*, Arm. *Ganda*)[5]. Furthermore, they received free commercial privileges from Mihály Apafi I (1661-1690), Prince of Transylvania in 1680[6].

Prior to the Catholic Habsburg Court's increasing political influence at the end of the 17th century, the Counter-Reformation had begun to strengthen in Transylvania. Not surprisingly, the Apostolic Armenians in Transylvania did not remain untouched[7]. Therefore, the possibility to send Catholic missionaries to the Armenians in Transylvania was denied to the Holy See for nearly twenty years after their escape (1668–1685). However, Bertalan Szebellébi (1631–1707), the Roman Catholic Bishop's vicar in Transylvania, and the Observant Franciscan fathers in Transylvania, did attempt to convert the Armenians to Catholicism. Their attempts, though, were systematically blocked by the harsh resistance led by Bishop Minas and his clergy in the late 1670s[8].

The Roman Catholic missions among the Apostolic-believer Armenians in Transylvania, of which the aim was to create the church-union, were initiated by the Armenian Uniate Archbishopric Office in Lemberg, in ca. 1683. The Archbishopric's wish to unite them with Rome was owing to the fact that Lemberg – before its church-union process happened between 1627 and 1681 – had an ecclesiastical jurisdiction upon the Armenians living in Moldavia and Poland[9]. It seems that the Armenians in Transylvania did not escape the spiritual leadership of the Armenian

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[5] Christophorus Lukácsy, *Historia Armenorum Transsilvaniae a primordiis usque nostram memoriam e fontibus authenticis et documentis antea ineditis elaborata*, Vienna, 1859, p. 17-18; *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeṛagrac Matenadaranin Mxitareanc' i Vienna* (ed. by Yakobos Dašean), Vienna, 1895, p. 116; Grigor Govrikean, *Elizabēt'opol. Dransilwanoy Hayoc' metropolisě*, Vienna, 1896, p. 8-12; Gregorio Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena in Polonia e nei paesi limitrofi. Parte Terza. (1681–1951)*, Rome, 1988, p. 81; A. Molnár, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[6] G. Govrikean, *op. cit.*, p. 14–15; Ašot Abrahamyan, *Hamaṛot urvagic hay gałt'avayreri patmut'yan*, 1, Yerewan, 1964, p. 142-145; S. K'olanĵian, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

[7] Kornél Nagy, *Emlékirat az erdélyi örmények egyházáról. (Az 1693. évi* Fidelis relatio.*)*, "Történelmi Szemle" 50 (2008), 2, p. 251-285 (255).

[8] APF, SC, Fondo Moldavia, Vol. 1, fol. 155r-156r, 265r-267r; APF, Fondo Visite e Collegi, Vol. 21, fol. 3r-22r; ELTE EKK, Coll. Hev., Cod. 15, p. 248; Ibidem, Cod. 16, p. 33; Ibidem, Cod. 21. p. 81-82; Ibidem, Cod. 23, Liber V, Cap. 16 (without pagination); Tihamér Aladár Vanyó, *Püspöki jelentések a Magyar Szent Korona országainak egyházmegyéiről, 1600-1850*, Pannonhalma, 1933, p. 113; Teresa Ferro, *I missionari cattolici in Moldavia*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 87-88, 97-98.

[9] APF, SC, Fondo Armeni, Vol. 3, fol. 380v-381r; APF, SC, Fondo Moldavia, Vol. 2, fol. 126r-127r, 134r-135v; APF, SC, Fondo Moscovia, Polonia e Rutenia, Vol. 2, fol. 260r-261v. Generally, the attempts in the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439 to form a church-union with the Greek (Byzantine) Orthodox and Armenian Apostolic Church had failed, and therefore the conversion of the Eastern Christians was still on the agenda from the Holy See's point of view. In this manner, the Ruthenians' church-union in Brest in 1596 and the Armenians' church-union in Lemberg in 1627 (in Poland), with the Roman Catholic Church represented for the Holy See an enormous advance in Eastern Europe. See *Litterae missionarium* cit., p. 81.

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Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg, because they emigrated from the regions, namely Moldavia and Poland, which were initially subdued to the Uniate Archbishop's ecclesiastical jurisdiction[10]. Therefore, the Holy See, agreeing with the Armenian Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg, sent out Oxendio Virziresco, an Armenian Uniate priest born in Moldavia and educated at the Seminary of the Armenian College (Lat. *Collegium Armenum*, It. *Collegio Armeno*, Arm. *Dpratun Hayoc'*) in Lemberg and at Seminary of Urbanian College (Lat. *Collegium Urbanum,* It. *Collegio Urbano*, Arm. *Dpratun Urbanean*) in Rome, on a mission among the Armenians in Transylvania in 1685[11].

Owing to initial conflicts, and particularly the Armenian Apostolic clergy's harsh resistance, his pastoral activity proved to be very hard. Oxendio Virziresco needed at least four years of hard work to fulfil his mission successfully[12]. The missionary himself had a very contradictory relation to Minas T'oxat'ec'i, the Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians residing in Transylvania. Oxendio Virziresco knew that the key to unite the whole Armenian community in Transylvania with the Roman Catholic Church was to convince Bishop Minas of the necessity of

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[10] Initially, Minas T'oxat'ec'i was ordained by Philip I (1633-1655), Catholicos (Patriarch) of the Armenians as Bishop of the Armenians in Moldavia in 1649. His episcopacy had been subjected to the Armenian Archbishop's supremacy in Lemberg from a jurisdictional point of view since its foundation in 1509. Moreover, bishop Minas's pontificate coincided with the period of Archbishop Nikol Torosowicz's (1604-1681) contradictory church-union with Rome in Lemberg (1627-1681). Notwithstanding, the Armenian episcopacy in Moldavia was regarded as one of the last strongholds resisting this church-union policy in the second half of the 17th century. Additionally, Bishop Minas T'oxat'ec'i himself was against any kind of process aimed at uniting confessionally the Armenian Apostolic Church with Rome. See Gregorio Petrowicz, *L'unione degli Armeni in Polonia con la Santa Sede (1626-1686). Parte prima*, Rome, 1950, p. 9-12, 14, 16, 22-23, 52, 79-80, 101-102, 104, 115, 124, 195-196, 225-229, 235, 246-251, 266-270, 295, 297, 307; Edmond Schütz, *An Armeno-Kipchak Document of 1640 from L'vov and its Background in Armenia and in Diaspora*, in *Between Danube and the Caucasus. A Collection of Papers concerning Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe* (ed. by György Kara), Budapest, 1987, p. 284-316.

[11] APF, Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide [hereafter, Acta SC], Vol. 51, fol. 154r-v, 232r, 255v.; Ibidem, Vol. 57, fol. 81r, 114r; APF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali [hereafter, SOCG], Vol. 490, fol. 110r; Ibidem, Vol. 492, fol. 313r; Ibidem, Vol. 493, fol. 30r-31v, 376r-378v; Ibidem, Vol. 497, fol. 335r-v, 338v; APF, Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione [hereafter, Lettere SC), Vol. 70, fol. 42r, 54v; Ibidem, Vol. 76, fol. 33r-34r; APF, SC, Fondo Armeni, Vol. 3, fol. 417r, 419r, 462r-v, 457r, 464r, 465r, 488r, 490r; APF, SC, Fondo Moldavia, Vol. 2, fol. 41r-46v; Step'anos Ṛošk'ay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn tarekank' ekełec'akank'* (ed. by Hamazasp Oskean), Vienna, 1964, p. 186; Ferenc Galla, *Pápai kinevezések, megbízások és felhatalmazások. Erdély, a magyar Királyság és a Hódoltság területére (1550-1711)* (ed. by Péter Tusor, Krisztina Tóth), Budapest-Rome, 2010, p. 139, 141, 142.

[12] The Armenians in Transylvania, exhorted by the Armenian priests, tried to kill Oxendio Virziresco twice, because the missionary himself was regarded as a "heretical priest" loyal to "heretical Rome". Additionally, the Armenians, primarily the clergy, had a vivid memory of the church-union process led by Archbishop Nikol Torosowicz, which had caused many damages to the Armenian colonies in Moldavia and Poland. See APF, SC, Fondo Armeni, Vol. 3, fol. 468r.

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conversion to Catholicism[13]. Oxendio Virziresco himself was not able to persuade the Bishop to unite with Rome. However, he succeeded in persuading Bishop Minas to escort him to Lemberg and start negotiations with Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini (1635-1700), Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw (Poland) and the Armenian Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg, upon a possible church-union in the late autumn of the year 1686[14].

According to the generally accepted scholarly opinion, immediately before his death in 1686, Bishop Minas made a confession of faith with Rome in the presence of Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini and Vardan Hunanean, Armenian Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg at the end of year 1686. After his alleged confession of faith, Bishop Minas prepared to return to his people in Transylvania, but, on his way home, he unexpectedly fell ill and died in the same year[15].

Yet the documents, which can be found at the historical archives of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome, written by Archbishop Vardan

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[13] Oxendio Virziresco in his long report sent to the Holy See in the autumn of 1686 gave an account of his link with Bishop Minas. In his report, Oxendio related that he was accused by the Armenians of acting as a spy. Namely, Bishop Minas and his followers caught Oxendio Virziresco's letters addressed to Federico Veterani (1650-1695), a military general at the Habsburg Court's service in Vienna, and Bishop Deodatus Nersesowicz (1647-1709), coadjutor of the Uniate Archbishop's Office in Lemberg. Allegedly, Oxendio sent very intimate accounts to them of the political and religious situation in Transylvania. On this pretext, the Armenians wanted Oxendio to be expelled from Transylvania. For this reason, Bishop Minas and his clergy laid a charge against him with Michael Apafi I, Prince of Transylvania. The accusation, however, yielded no result, for reasons unknown to us. In any case, Oxendio could further continue his missionary work in Transylvania without any other difficulties. See APF, SC, Fondo Armeni, Vol. 3, fol. 468r.

[14] APF, Lettere SC, Vol. 76, fol. 33r-34r; APF, SC, Fondo Armeni, Vol. 3, fol. 468r-469v.

[15] The information on Bishop Minas's confession of faith as a historical fact spread over the Hungarian and international secondary literature without any reservations. To be sure, the secondary literature concerning the Armenians' church-union in Transylvania published in Hungarian or any other languages is extraordinarily few. Research has become difficult since the majority of these, with some exceptions, proved to be very obsolete, that is to say, these have already come to light at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. These monographs or articles very often referred to each other. Thus, they adopted entire chapters word by word from each other. They had the same opinion upon Bishop Minas' confession of faith and Bishop Oxendio's missionary efforts in Transylvania. Most authors did not go into the details, examining their pastoral activity. APF, SOCG, Vol. 537, fol. 418r-v; Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Rome, Italy) [hereafter, ARSI], Fondo Austria, Historia, Vol. 155, fol. 81v; ELTE EKK, Coll. Hev, Cod. 16, p. 32; Ibidem, Cod. 21, p. 82; Ibidem, Cod. 23, Liber V, Cap. 16 (without pagination); Ibidem, Cod. 29, p. 346; ELTE EKK, Collectio Kaprinayana. First Series [hereafter, Coll. Kapr. A.], Cod. 11, p. 112; Andreas Ilia, *Ortus et progressus variarum in Dacia gentium et religionum*, Cluj-Napoca, 1730, p. 67; C. Lukácsy, *op. cit.*, p. 68; *Kamenic'* cit., p. 17; Antal Hodinka, *A munkácsi görög-katholikus püspökség története*, Budapest, 1909, p. 2-3; S. K'olanĵian, *op. cit.*, p. 362-363; Zsolt Trócsányi, *Transilvaniayi hayeri iravakan kac'ut'iwnë Leopoldyan hrovartaki šrĵanum. (1690-1848)*, in *Hay-hunagarakan patmakan ew mšakuyt'ayin kaperi patmut'iwnic'* (ed. by Vladimir Barxudaryan, Antal Vörös, Yerewan, 1983, p. 168–271 (173); G. Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena*, cit., p. 78; Paul Shore, *Jesuits and the Politics of Religious Pluralism in Eighteenth-Century Transylvania. Culture, Politics and Religion, 1693-1773*, Rome, 2007, p. 75-79; A. Molnár, *op. cit.*, p. 222-223.

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Hunanean[16], Oxendio Virziresco and other Catholic missionaries delegated from Rome between 1686 and 1688, definitively refute the fact that Bishop Minas had made a confession of faith with Rome[17]. No more do the missionary reports which are kept in the Vatican Secret Archives (*Archivio Segreto Vaticano*) confirm Bishop Minas's confession of faith with the Roman Catholic Church, either. These sources explicitly rendered accounts of Bishop Minas's negotiations with Archbishop Vardan Hunanean upon a possible confession of faith and church-union with Rome on behalf of the Armenian community in Transylvania. But, according to contemporary sources, these negotiations were unsuccessful[18]. Moreover, Oxendio Virziresco's long missionary reports written in Italian to the Holy See between 1686 and 1688 inform us that he was on no good terms with Bishop Minas both from the confessional and the dogmatical point of view. Thus, he described concretely in his reports addressed to Holy See that Bishop Minas died as a heretic Bishop and not a Uniate one in 1686. These documents well may attest that Bishop Minas himself was unwilling to negotiate upon a confession of faith or a church-union with Rome. Further on, this also suggests that there were only religious disputes in Lemberg, and not a confession of faith or a church-union with Rome[19].

Bishop Minas's confession of faith with Rome in Lemberg as a historical fact was propagated by Oxendio Virziresco in the mid-1690s. Consequently, it was in Oxendio Virziresco's interest to spread this information, because he was very ambitious to be nominated and ordained as an Armenian Uniate (Catholic) Bishop of

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[16] Archbishop Vardan Hunanean emphasised in his two letters addressed to the Holy See in 1687 that owing to Bishop Minas's death, a Uniate Bishop or an Apostolic Vicar or an Apostolic Administrator should be appointed, ordained, and delegated by the Holy See to the Armenians in Transylvania, because the Armenian Catholicos in Ēǰmiacin (Armenia) wanted to appoint a new Armenian Apostolic Bishop among them. This newly-appointed Bishop could be Theodor Vartanowicz (1652-1700), a Polish-Armenian priest, born in Lemberg, who wanted to enter Transylvania. On Bishop Vartanowicz see the following documents: APF, Acta SC, Vol. 60, fol. 78r-81v, 125r-127v; APF, SOCG, Vol. 507, fol. 87r-88v, 89r, 90r, 91r, 92r, 93r-94r; Ibidem, Vol. 509, fol. 112r; APF, Lettere SC, Vol. 79, fol. 7r-8v, 22v-23r, 129r-132v; Ibidem, Vol. 80, fol. 3r-v, 45r; APF, SC, Fondo Armeni, Vol. 2, fol. 807r; Ibidem, Vol. 3, fol. 434r, 469v; Ibidem, Vol. 4, fol. 51r-v, 64r, 69r, 70r, 71r-72v, 82r-83v, 86r-87v, 100r-v, 129r; C. Lukácsy, *op. cit.*, p. 69-70; G. Petrowicz, *La chiesa armena* cit., p. 78-79.

[17] APF, Lettere SC, Vol. 76, fol. 90v-91r; APF, SC, Fondo Armeni, Vol. 3, fol. 434r-435v, 498r; Ibidem, Vol. 4, fol. 374r-375v; S. Ṛošk'ay, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[18] At these archives, we have never found any official or half-official sources i. e. reports, letters and documents, which would underpin decidedly Bishop Minas' confession of faith. Moreover, there are no any documents originated from Opizio Pallavicini, Apostolic Nuncio in Poland, either. Thus, there are no any materials in the archives of the Holy See which would have underpinned unanimously the fact that Bishop Minas could have met personally Nuncio Opizio Pallavicini in Lemberg, 1686. The documents among the official materials belonging to Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna (Habsburg Monarchy) or in Warsaw (Poland) found at Vatican Secret Archives have remained silent. APF, SOCG, Vol. 532, fol. 456r-457r; Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican City, Vatican) [hereafter, ASV], Archivio della Nunziatura in Vienna [hereafter, ANV], Vol. 196, fol. 219r-220r.

[19] APF, SC, Fondo Armeni, Vol. 4, fol. 13r-v; APF, Collegio Urbano [hereafter, CU], Vol. 3, fol. 472r-v.

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the Armenians in Transylvania in the late 1680s. Therefore, in contrast to the documents written by himself between 1686 and 1688, he stated from the mid-1690s that Bishop Minas died as a Uniate, – and not an (Eastern) Apostolic – Bishop as a result of his negotiations in Lemberg. It seems that Oxendio Virziresco created a theory of legitimation, justifying that he had the exclusive right to become a Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania after Bishop Minas's death. In this way, Oxendio Virziresco had definitely managed to lead his age as well as the posterity astray with his theory.

At any rate, Bishop Minas's death in 1686 had facilitated without any doubt Oxendio Virziresco's missionary activity in Transylvania[20]. Moreover, Oxendio Virziresco's missionary efforts met with a success. In February 1689, an Armenian delegation from Transylvania, led by two Apostolic Armenian priests, namely archdeacon (*awagerēc'*) Ełia Mĕndrul (ca. 1630-1701) and monk (*abełay*) *vardapet* Vardan Martinus Potoczky (ca. 1640-1702), arrived in Lemberg in order to negotiate upon the confession of faith and church-union with the Armenian Uniate Archbishop on behalf of the whole Transylvanian community[21].

In conclusion of these negotiations, the church-union was declared in Lemberg in February 1689 when the Armenians in Transylvania made a confession of faith with Rome in the Uniate Archbishop Vardan Hunanean's presence[22]. However, it is not easy to decide the precise date of the church-union. Since the General Session of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome discussed the Armenians' church-union in Transylvania on April 8, 1689, therefore, it is highly reasonable to accept this act as an official date of their church-union[23]. At the same time, in connection with the Armenians' church-union in Transylvania, several problems emerged. First of all, the church-union itself was exclusively confined to acknowledge the Roman Pope's primacy. Secondly, the church-union did not touch several very important details, for instance the Uniate clergy's social status and payment, the Uniate priests' marital status, use of language in holy liturgies, use of the unleavened bread at Eucharist, the *Filioque*–prayer, the chanting of the *Trisagium*-hymn, the question of Purgatory itself and, finally, dogmas of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod in Chalcedon in 451 A.D.[24] These problems were, however, clarified in details during the progress of other Eastern churches' union in Poland, Hungary and Transylvania[25]. But these ones have remained untouched and caused

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[20] ARSI, Fondo Austria, Historia, Vol. 176, p. 106; Ibidem, Vol. 177, p. 79; P. Shore, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[21] APF, Acta SC, Vol. 59, fol. 165r-169r; APF, SOCG, Vol. 504, fol. 103r; Ibidem, Vol. 506, fol. 61r, 65r, 66r; APF, Lettere SC, Vol. 78, fol. 36v-37r, 37r-38r, 102r-v; ELTE EKK, Coll. Hev., Cod. 15, p. 251; Ibidem, Cod. 16, p. 34; Ibidem, Cod. 21, p. 82; Ibidem, Cod. 23, Liber V, Cap. 16 (without pagination.); ELTE EKK, Res Transylvanica, Vol. 522, fol. 96r, 137r-v; Library of the Armenian Catholic Parish in Gheorgheni (Gheorgheni, Romania) [hereafter, LACPG], no I/1.
[22] APF, SOCG, Vol. 532, fol. 282r; APF, CP, Vol. 29, fol. 651r.
[23] APF, Acta SC, Vol. 60, fol. 14v-19v; APF, Lettere SC, Vol. 79, fol. 134v-135r.
[24] ELTE EKK, Coll. Hev., Cod. 21, p. 77-80.
[25] Ibidem, Cod. 24, p. 83-86, 199-202, 259-260, 267-272; *Symbolae ad illustrandam historiam ecclesia orientalis in terris Coronae S[ancti]. Stephani* (ed. by Nicolaus Nilles), 1, Innsbruck, 1885, p. 263-269.

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many rude conflicts within the Armenian community in Transylvania for the years to come.

In case of the official declaration of the Armenian's church-union in Transylvania, the Armenian delegation wrote two letters in Armenian addressed to the Holy See. In these documents, they asked the Holy See to appoint and ordain Oxendio Virziresco as a Uniate Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania who had been working fruitfully among them as a simple missionary for four years[26].

At any rate, the success of the Armenians' church-union in Transylvania meant a great step towards Oxendio Virziresco's candidacy for a Uniate Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania[27]. After long canonical debates in Rome, thanks to the Apostolic Nuncio of Poland, Archbishop Giacomo Cantelmi's effort (1645-1702), Oxendio Virziresco was appointed as a titular – *in partibus infidelium*[28] – Bishop by the Holy See on October 2, 1690[29]. Further on, Oxendio Virziresco was solemnly consecrated as Bishop by the Uniate Archbishop Vardan Hunanean in the cathedral of the Holy Virgin (Arm. *Mayr Tačar Astuacacni Srboyn*) in Lemberg on July 30, 1691[30].

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[26] APF, CP, Vol. 29, fol. 644r, 645r, 647r-v, 648r-v.

[27] APF, Lettere SC, Vol. 80, fol. 80v-81r, 82r-v, 94r-96r, 123r, 129r-132r.

[28] It is a specific term used at the Roman Catholic Church in the ecclesiastical Latin language in the 17th and 18th centuries. The term *in partibus infidelium* approximately means a bishop sent out on a mission by the Holy See among the infidels in order to convert them to Catholicism.

[29] Obviously, Rome took the Hungarian Catholic Church's interest into consideration, because the Hungarian Church was keen to restore the non-functioning Roman Catholic diocese in Transylvania. Consequently, the Hungarian Catholic Church tolerated just one Catholic Diocesan Bishop in Transylvania, and not more. See APF, Acta SC, Vol. 59, fol. 165r-169r; Ibidem, Vol. 60, fol. 14r-19v, 78v-81v, 125v-127v; APF, SOCG, Vol. 506, fol. 61r-v, 63r-64r; Ibidem, Vol. 510, fol. 94r; Ibidem, Vol. 512, fol. 180r; APF, CP, Vol. 29, fol. 612r-617v, 628r-629v, 630r-631r, 636r; APF, Lettere SC, Vol. 79, fol. 80v-81r, 82r-v, 123r, 129r-132r, 133v, 134v-135r; APF, SC, Fondo Armeni, Vol. 4, fol. 140r, 146r-v, 221, 224r, 261r; Prímási Levéltár (Esztergom, Hungary) [hereafter, PL], Archivum Vetus Ecclesiasticum. Sub Primatae Széchenyi (1685–1695) [hereafter, AEV SPSZ], No. 273/2; ELTE EKK, Coll. Hev., Cod. 15, p. 252; Ibidem, Cod. 16, p. 34; Ibidem, Cod. 21, p. 83; Ibidem, Cod. 23, Liber V, Cap. 16 (without pagination); Ibidem, Cod. 29, p. 346; ELTE EKK, Res Transylvanica, Vol. 522, fol. 173r-v; C. Lukácsy, *op. cit.*, p. 70; *Kamenic'* cit., p. 128; S. Ṛošk'ay, *op. cit.*, p. 186-187; G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa armena* cit., p. 94-97.

[30] APF, Lettere SC, Vol. 80, fol. 4r-v, 13r-14v, 64v-65r, 74r-75r, 86-87; ELTE EKK, Res Transylvanica, Vol. 522, fol. 73r; Minas Bžškeanc', *Čanaparhodut'iwn i Lehastan*, Venice, 1830, p. 118.

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Appendix

Documents

1.
Letter of the Armenians in Transylvania to the Cardinals of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) upon Oxendio Virziresco's Nomination as a Uniate Bishop

Date and place: Lemberg (Ukr. *Lviv*, Russ. *L'vov*, Pol. *Lwów*, Arm. *Lewonopol*), February 1689.
Language: Contemporain Armenian
Document: APF, CP, Vol. 29, Fol. 644r.
Publication: Unpublished.

Regestum: *Vardapet Oxendio Virziresco, an Armenian Uniate priest and missionary, arrived in Transylvania four years ago. In the beginning of his mission, the Uniate priest himself was sorely tired by the Armenians in Transylvania. Owing to this, the Armenians, however, do believe that they will be absolved from their frail ignorance and sins committed against the Uniate priest. But, by grace of God, due to Oxendio Virziresco's teaching and preaching, the Armenians in Transylvania have united with the Roman Catholic Church in a great unity and love, about the details of which they have already written to the Apostolic Nuncio in Poland (Warsaw). For this reason, in this letter, the Armenians in Transylvania express their gratefulness attributed to the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, because this Institute delegated their compatriot, Oxendio Virziresco, like the Armenians' Apostle and Holy Father, Saint Gregory the Illuminator, Apostle of the Armenians, who was taught and educated in Rome by courtesy of the above-mentioned Institute, to Transylvania, in order to convert them to the Roman Catholic Faith. In this manner, the Armenians in Transylvania kindly ask the Cardinals at the Holy See to receive them as their humble sons into the Roman Catholic Church and render them help both in corporeal and in spiritual things. Therefore, they kindly ask the Cardinals to help them appoint Oxendio Virziresco as a Uniate bishop for the Armenians in Transylvania in order to confirm and increase the Armenians' honour towards the Holy See.*

Gerapatiw ew ciranap'aţ teranc'd Gartinalc'd Srboy Žołovoyn Tē Brōbakanta Fidē[31], ołĵoyn siroy ew xonarhut'ean meroy hnazandut'ean aţ hramayealod!

Aha č'ors[32] amē, or aţ mez haseal ē mer srbut'ean Ašakertn, mer Vardapet Ōgsēntios Vrcrēsguln[33]. Ew aynmhetē šat anc'k' ēnd mez ew ēnd na, bayc' angitut'eamb, vasn oroy

[31] Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith. The Holy See's Missionary Institute was established in Rome on January 6, 1622 by Pope Gregory XV's (1621-1623) bull entitled *Inscrutabili divinae providentiae* [Inscrutable Divine Providence].
[32] Addendum in the text.
[33] Oxendio Virziresco (1654-1715). Armenian Uniate missionary in Transylvania born in Moldavia. Alumnus of the Armenian College in Lemberg and the Urbanian College in Rome

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ew zyoys t'ołut'ean mełac' meroc' ditagoynapēs ěnduneloc' emk'. Ard šnorhōk' Astucoy ew iwr xrat'iwn miabanec'ak' sirov ew mecaw p'ap'ak'anōk' ěnd irears, orpēs ew aŗ Gerapatiw Nuirakn Aŗakelakan[34] aŗ Lēhěs[35] grec'ak' miěstmioĵē. Ayžm hamarjakec'ak' grel ew aŗ Srbazan Hayrapetn, orpēs ew aŗ srbut'iwn jer. Šnorhakal linelov zi zmer azgakic' ew gawaŗakic' Ōgsēntios Vardapetn usuc'eal ēk', ew aŗ mez aŗak'ealk', or mek' ews nora usmambn usak' ew caneak' zčšmartut'iwn ew hetewec'ak' Hōrn Meroy Srboyn Mecin Grigorin Lusaworč'in[36], gohut'ean aynu urax emk'. Miayn xndremk' zi zmez aysmhetē oč' ibrew ōtars, ayl ibrew zxonarh ordis ěndunic'ik', ew zōgnut'iwn jer hasuc'anēk' mez t'ē i hogewors ew t'ē ěnd marmnawors. Ew manawand zxndirk'n mer vasn episkoposi katarel ĵanasc'ik', zi sērn mer ews k'anzew ačesc'i ew hastateac'i aŗ ayd Vehap'aŗ Surb Ěndhanrakan At'oŗd[37]. Ew ayspēs zgrapan ciraneac' srbazanic'n meroc' ĵermeŗand sirov ew[38] hambuberov kamk' ew mnak' aŗ hramans srbut'ean jeroy patrast ew xonarh caŗayk'.

Es Tēr Ełiał awagerēc[39]. L.S. (red-wax seal)
Es TērAstuacatur[40]. L.S. (red-wax seal)
Es Tēr Vardans[41]. L. S. (red-wax seal)
Es T'oman ēresp'oxan[42] Sēĵovu[43]. L.S. (red-wax seal)
Es Asvaturs Pilalin[44]. L. S. (red-wax seal)
Es Xoĵay K'ristoratur[45]. L.S. (red-wax seal)
Es Lusikn ēkēłec'pan[46]. L.S. (red-wax seal)
Es Grigorios[47]. L.S. (red-wax seal)
Es Vardan Surukčoc' sarostan[48]. L. S. (red-wax seal)

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between 1678 and 1683. Apostolic Administrator of the Armenians in Transylvania beween 1687 and 1690. He wa appointed as a Uniate Bishop and Apostolic Vicar of the Armenians on October 2, 1690. Furthermore, he was consecrated as a Uniate Bishop by Armenian Uniate Archbishop Vardan Hunanean in Lemberg on July 30, 1691.

[34] Giacomo Cantelmi (1645-1702). Titular Archbishop (*in partibus infidelium*) of Caesarea between 1683 and 1690. Between 1685 and 1688 Apostolic Nuncio in Switzerland. Between 1688 and 1690 Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw (Poland). He was created as a Cardinal in 1690. He was the Archbishop of Capua (Italy) between 1690 and 1691 as well as he was the Archbishop of Napoli (Italy) from 1691 to his death (1702).

[35] Poland.

[36] Saint Gregory the Illuminator (287-325) (Arm. *Surb Grigor Lusaworič'*). Apostle of the Armenians. The first Catholicos (Arm. *Kat'ołikos*) and Patriarch (Arm. *Hayrapet*) of the Armenians.

[37] Holy See.

[38] Addendum in the text.

[39] We have not found any data on this person.

[40] We have not found any data on this person.

[41] We have not found any data on this person.

[42] We have not found any data on this person.

[43] Suceava (Arm. *Seč'ov*).

[44] We have not found any data on this person.

[45] We have not found any data on this person.

[46] We have not found any data on this person.

[47] We have not found any data on this person.

[48] We have not found any data on this person.

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Es Lusik ērēc'p'oxan[49] Pōĵanu[50]. L.S. (red-wax seal)
Es Es Parōnč'an ēkēłec'ban Pōĵanu[51]. L. S. (red-wax seal)

Io postcritto Giovanni Battista Volponi[52] Minor Conventuale e Prefetto delle missione in[53] Moldavia e Vallachia me sono trovato presente quanto di sopra.

1/a.

Letter of the Armenians in Transylvania to the Cardinals of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) upon Oxendio Virziresco's Nomination as a Uniate Bishop (Latin translation done by Basilio Barsegh)

Date and place: Lemberg (Ukr. *Lviv,* Russ. *L'vov,* Pol. *Lwów,* Arm. *Lewonopol*), February 1689.
Language: Latin
Document: APF, CP, Vol. 29, fol. 645r-646v.
Publication: Unpublished.

Regestum: *Vardapet Oxendio Virziresco, an Armenian Uniate priest and missionary, arrived in Transylvania four years ago. In the beginning of his mission, the Uniate priest himself was sorely tired by the Armenians in Transylvania. Owing to this, the Armenians, however, do believe that they will be absolved from their frail ignorance and sins committed against the Uniate priest. But, by grace of God, due to Oxendio Virziresco's teaching and preaching, the Armenians in Transylvania have united with the Roman Catholic Church in a great unity and love, about the details of which they have already written to the Apostolic Nuncio in Poland (Warsaw). For this reason, in this letter, the Armenians in Transylvania express their gratefulness attributed to the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, because this Institute delegated their compatriot, Oxendio Virziresco, like the Armenians' Apostle and Holy Father, Saint Gregory the Illuminator, who was taught and educated in Rome by courtesy of the above-mentioned Institute, to Transylvania, in order to convert them to the Roman Catholic Faith. In this manner, the Armenians in Transylvania ask the Cardinals at the Holy See to recieve them as their humble sons into the Roman Catholic Church and render them help both in corporeal and in spiritual things. Therefore, they ask the Cardinals to help them appoint Oxendio Virziresco as a Uniate bishop for the Armenians in Transylvania in order to confirm and increase the Armenians' love towards the Holy See.*

Eminentissimis et purpuratis Dominis Cardinalibus Sacrae Congregationis De Propaganda Fide[54] Salvatione Amoris et humilitatis nostrae obedientia ad praecepta.

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[49] We have not found any data on this person.
[50] Botoşani (Arm. *Bočan* or *Poĵan*, Hung. *Botusán*).
[51] We have not found any data on this person.
[52] Giovanni Battista Volponi (Volpone) da Fiorentino (ca. 1632-1698). Conventual Franciscan (Minorite) monk and missionary. He served as a Prefect of the Conventual Franciscan missions in Moldavia and Wallachia at the behest of the Holy See between 1685 and 1695.
[53] Addendum in the text.
[54] See above, note 31.

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Ove[55] ecce a quattuor annis iam ad nos pervenerat Vestrarum Eminentiarum Alumnus[56] noster Vartabet[57] Oxendius Virzeresgul[58], qui postquam venit ad nos, multa accidentia digustativa[59] molesta[60] fuerunt inter nos et ipsum. Sed omnia per nostram ignorantiam, ideo et speramus veniam peccatorum nostrorum facilius obtinere. Sed per gratiam Dei, et illius instructione uniti fuimus et reconciliati amore, et magno affectu simul et adinvicem sicut ad Illustrussimum Nuntium Apostolicum in Polonia[61] scripsimus omnia particularita. Nunc autem ausi sumus, ad fortissimum pontificem, et ad Vestras Eminentias scribere, gratias agendo, qua nostrum consocium, et connationalem Oxendium Virzesgul Vartabetem[62] docueratis, et instruxeratis, et ad nos miseratis quia et nos etiam ex eius doctrina didicimus, et novimus veritatem, et secuti sumus Patrem Nostrum Sanctum, Gregorium[63] Magnum negotium Illuminatorem,[64] gratias agimus Deo, et gaudemus. Et tantum petimus a vobis, ut nos in posterum non tamquam alienos, sed tamquam humiles filios recipiatis, et auxilium vestrum nobis concedatis, tam in spiritualibus, quam in corporalibus. Et praecipue petitiones[65] nostras[66] pro Episcopo perficere conemini, ut amor noster plus et plus crescat, et[67] confirmetur ad istam Vestram Supremam, Sanctam et Universalem Sedem Apostolicam. Et ita fimbrias Sacrorum Purpurorum Vestrarum osculando, cum devotione et amore manemus et expectamus ordine vestra praecepta paratissimi et humillimi servi Vestrarum Eminentiarum.

Ego Dominus Elia Archipresbiter[68]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Dominus Asuazadur[69]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Dominus Vartan[70]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)

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[55] Italian.
[56] Pontificium Collegium Urbanum. Seminar of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome founded by Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) according to his bull entitled *Immortalis Dei Filius* [Immortal God's Son] in Rome on August 1, 1627.
[57] *Vardapet* is a theological rank in the Armenian Apostolic Church. A monk became strictly vardapet. Initially, the word or term *vardapet* is a Middle-Persian (known as *Pehlevi*) loanword in the Armenian language in the meaning of 'doctor of theology'. This term was also adopted by the Armenian Uniate (Catholic) Church with the same meaning in the 17th century.
[58] See above, note 33.
[59] Italian.
[60] Interpolation in the text.
[61] See above, note 34.
[62] The Armenian ecclesiastical term *vardapet* is declensioned according to third declension in the Latin language.
[63] Addendum in the text.
[64] See above, note 36.
[65] Correction in the text. In the document: *petiones*.
[66] Correction in the text. Int he document: *nostros*
[67] Addendum in the text.
[68] Elia Mendrul (ca. 1640-1701). Armenian secular priest and archdean was born in Moldavia. He was charged as a Vicar of the Apostolic-believer Armenians in Transylvania after Bishop Minas T'oxat'ec'i's death.
[69] Astuacatur Nigošean († 1693). Armenian monk and *vardapet* was born in Moldavia. He was ordained as a priest by Bishop Minas T'oxat'ec'i himself in ca. 1683.

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Ego Thomas[71] Consul Seciovi[72] civitatis. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Asvadur praefectus[73]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Cogia Christodur[74]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Lusigh praefectus[75]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Gregorius[76]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Lusughis. Consul Civitatis Bocciani[77]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Barongian praefectus[78]. Bocciani civitatis. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Vartan Surughiazi Starosta[79]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)

Praeter haec ad est illum, quod in margine scribitur italice, legete et videte quid dicit.
Supra scriptio: Ad Sacram Congregationem de Propaganda Fide. Romam[80].

Note: Io Fratello Padre Giovanni Battista Volponi[81] Minor Conventuale e Prefetto delle missioni in[82] Moldavia e Vallachia me controvato presente quanto di sopra.

(Fol. 646v) I jeŋn Žołovin tē Brōbaganta Fidē.
Litterae[83] ad eosdem Cardinales Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.
Armenorum Siculiae[84].
I Hŋom[85].
(Red-wax seal)

2.
Letter of the Armenians in Transylvania to Pope Innocent XI upon Oxendio Virziresco's Nomination as a Uniate Bishop

Document: APF, CP, Vol. 29, fol. 647r-v.
Date and place: Lemberg (Ukr. *Lviv,* Russ. *L'vov,* Pol. *Lwów,* Arm. *Lewonopol*), Febuary, 1689.
Language: Contemporain Armenian

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[70] Vardan Martinus Potoczky (ca. 1630-1702). Armenian monk and *vardapet* was born in Lemberg (Poland).
[71] We have not found any data on this person .
[72] Suçeava (Arm. *Seč'ov* or *Sejov*).
[73] We have not found any data on this person.
[74] We have not found any data on this person.
[75] We have not found any data on this person.
[76] We have not found any data on this person.
[77] Botoşani (Arm. *Boč'an* or *Pojan*, Hung. *Botusán*).
[78] We have not found any data on this person.
[79] We have not found any data on this person.
[80] Rome.
[81] Giovanni Battista Volponi (Volpone) da Fiorentino (ca. 1632-1698). Conventual Franciscan (Minorite) monk and missionary. He served as a Prefect of the Conventual Franciscan missions in Moldavia and Vallachia at the behest of the Holy See between 1685 and 1695.
[82] Addendum in the text.
[83] Correction in the text. In the document: *literae.*
[84] The Szeklerland (Rom. *Ţinutul Secuiesc* or *Secuimea*, Hung. *Székelyföld.*). Here Transylvania.
[85] Rome (Armenian).

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Publication: Unpublished.

Regestum: *As the Roman Pope's humble sons, the Armenians in Transylvania, who lived once in Moldavia, and who are staying at this moment in Transylvania due to their sins, express their homage to the Roman Pope. Furthermore, the Armenians in Transylvania inform the Roman Pope that they have united with the Roman Catholic Church and taken an obedience to the Roman Pope due to their compatriot's pastoral activity, namely Oxendio Virziresco, who was educated, taught and sent out on a mission to Transylvania by the Holy See. In this letter, the Armenians in Transylvania are emphasising that this church-union is very similar to that church-unity, which existed between Pope Saint Sylvester I and Saint Gregory the Illuminator, Apostle of the Armenians, a long time ago. For this reason, the Armenians in Transylvania firmly believing in God hope that this church-union will not fail. Further on, the Armenians in Transylvania justify that they have united with the Roman Catholic Church by reason of their fellows' spiritual salvation, and not by reason of their human nature. The Armenians in Transylvania have already written their intention to unite with the Roman Catholic Church on several occasions but now they have circumstantially written this intention to the Apostolic Nuncio in Poland (Warsaw), too. Therefore, the Armenians in Transylvania humbly ask the Roman Pope to receive them as his sons with his fatherly love into the Roman Catholic Church in the near future and not as foreigners. Moreover, they ask humbly the Roman Pope to ordain Oxendio Virziresco as their bishop and shepherd, who has planted a good seed into them and cared about them. Similarly, the Armenians in Transylvania ask humbly the Roman Pope to let Oxendio Virziresco be their teacher (vardapet) in their both corporeal and spiritual consolation because they have hitherto been without a shepherd.*

Amenavehid i stełcuacu P'rkič'n meroy eresp'oxanid aylew Gaṛanc', ew oč'xarac'n K'ristosi Hōtapetid čšmarti glxoyd ēnthanur Ekełec'oyn ew mioyd ew Tēr yAstucoysn aṛ mez iskakan ew anpatreli Hogoyn Srboy t'argmanč'id teaṛnd meroy amenasrboy ew erǰankapēs tirapetołid Hōrd ew Papid Innōc'ēnc'iosi Metasanerordid![86]

Mek' amenanuast ew xonarhac'eal ordik'd, erbemn Połtanu[87], bayc' ayžm vasn mełac' meroc' pantxtac'ealk' yerkrin Mačaṛac'[88] Hazaynik' kah'anayk', erespoxank', ekełec'apank', sarōsdayk' ew vadahk' anuamb bovandak Połtanu žołovrdeann vałap'apak' ǰermeṛandut'ean hamburemk' zsrbazan ots eranelut'eand, ew mišt hayc'emk' yApēniazēn[89] Astucoy zhastut'ean Amenabarjr[90] Gahoyd, ew tirapetut'eand i šahaw ēut'ean k'ristonean gndin[91]. Aylew hamarjakimk' ibrew Hōrd Amenagut'i yaytnel t'ē soynpēs šnorhōk'n Astucoy ew ardeambk' srbut'eand ew amenōrea[92] k'aroz'uteamb

[86] Pope Innocent XI (1676-1689).
[87] Moldavia.
[88] Hungary. Here Transylvania.
[89] Correction in the text. In the document: *i Apēniazēn.*
[90] Correction in the text. In the document: *Amena barjr.*
[91] Correction in the text. In the document: *gnti.*
[92] Correction in the text. In the text: *amēnōrea.*

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mer sirel azgakic' ew gawaṛakic' vardapetin Ōgsēntiosi Vrcrēsgulin[93], zor ayžmik usuc'eal ēk'[94] ew aṛ mez aṛak'eal, ekak' i miabanut'iwn ew i hnazandut'iwn Srboy At'oṛoyd[95], yamenayn ew aṛ amenayn, ĕst orum ew Surb Hayrn Mecn, Grigorios Lusaworč'in[96] arar ĕnd Srboyn Sełbesdrosi[97]. Ew yoysut'iwn emk' aṛ Astuac, zi mi ews k'aktesc'i ays, orovhetew[98] oč' šaržec'ak' aṛ na[99] patčaṛaw mardkac'in aknarkut'ean, ayl miayn vasn p'rkut'ean hoguoc' meroc'n, ew apagayic' mer azneac'n, orpēs k'anic's grec'ak', ew ayžm manawand manrapēs aṛ Gerapatiw Nĕuirakd[100] Aṛakelakan[101] i Lēhs[102]. Ew yoyž xndremk' zi zmez yaysmhetē, oč' ibrew zōtars, ayl ibrew zxonarh ordis k'oys hayrakan sirovd ĕndunic'is. Ew mez zŌgsēntios vardapet mer mez episkopos ew hoviw hramayic'es jeṛnadrel, zi soynpēs ink'n tnkeac' zsermn bari i mēj mer, noynpēs ink'n jresc'ē ew bresc'ē aṛi aṛnoł začumn i verust[103]. Aylew xnamacu lic'is i vardapet mer, orpēs očxarac' minč'ew c'ayžm aṛanc' hovui. Ew ōgnakan ews i nełut'ean merum t'ē i hogewors, t'ē i marmnawors. Ew ayspēs krnelov zhamboyrs otoc'd srboc'd kamk' ew mnamk' aṛ hramayealsd.

Es Tēr Ełieas awak'ērēc'[104]. L. S. (red-wax seal)
Es Tēr Vardans[105]. L.S. (red-wax seal)
Es Tēr Astuacaturs[106]. L. S. (red-wax seal)
Es T'oman ērēsp'oxan[107] Seĵōvu[108]. L.S. (red-wax seal)
Es Asvatur ēkēłec'bans[109]. L. S. (red-wax seal)
Es Xoĵay K'ristosatur[110]. L. S. (red-wax seal)
Es Lusik ēkēłēc'ban[111]. L. S. (red-wax seal)
Es Grigorios[112]. L. S. (red-wax seal)
(647v)
Es Lusik vadahs[113]. L. S. (red-wax seal)
Es Vardan Surukč'oc' sarosda[114]. L. S. (red-wax seal)

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[93] See above, note 33.
[94] Correction in the text. In the text: *usuc'ealēk'*
[95] Holy See.
[96] See above, note 36.
[97] Pope Saint Sylvester I (314-335).
[98] Correction in the text. In the text: *orov hetew*.
[99] Correction in the text. In the text: *aṛna*.
[100] See above, note 34.
[101] Addendum in the text.
[102] Poland.
[103] Biblical reference in the text. Matthew, 13:8; Marc, 4:8; Lucas, 8:8.
[104] See above, note 68.
[105] See above, note 70.
[106] Astuacatur Nigošean († 1693). Armenian monk and *vardapet* was born in Moldva. He was ordained as a priest by Bishop Minas T'oxat'ec'i himself in 1683.
[107] We have not found any data on this person.
[108] Suceava (Arm. *Seč'ov*).
[109] We have not found any data on this person.
[110] We have not found any data on this person.
[111] We have not found any data on this person.
[112] We have not found any data on this person.
[113] We have not found any data on this person.

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Es Ēsank'on T'ukč'oc'n sarosda[115]. L. S. (red-wax seal)
Es Lusik vadah[116]. L. S. (red-wax seal)

Note: Io Fratello Padre Giovanni Battista Volponi[117] minor conventuale e prefetto delle missioni in[118] Moldavia e Vallachia me controvato presente quanto di sopra.

2/a.
Letter of the Armenians in Transylvania to Pope Innocent XI upon Oxendio Virziresco's Nomination as a Uniate Bishop (Latin translation done by Basilio Barsegh)

Document: APF, CP, Vol. 29, fol. 648r-v.
Date and place: Lemberg (Ukr. *Lviv,* Russ. *L'vov,* Pol. *Lwów,* Arm. *Lewonopol*), Febuary, 1689.
Publication: Unpublished.

Regestum: *As the Roman Pope's humble sons, the Armenians in Transylvania, who lived once in Moldavia, and who are staying at this moment in Transylvania due to their sins, express their hommage to the Roman Pope. Furthermore, the Armenians in Transylvania inform the Roman Pope that they have united with the Roman Catholic Church and taken an obedience to the Roman Pope due to their compatriot's pastoral activity, namely Oxendio Virziresco, who was educated, taught and sent out on a mission to Transylvania by the Holy See. In this letter, the Armenians in Transylvania are emphasising that this church-union is very similar to that church-unity, which existed between Pope Saint Sylvester I and Saint Gregory the Illuminator, Apostle of the Armenians, a long time ago. For this reason, the Armenians in Transylvania firmly believing in God hope that this church-union will not fail. Further on, the Armenians in Transylvania justify that they have united with the Roman Catholic Church by reason of their fellows' spiritual salvation, and not by reason of their human nature. The Armenians in Transylvania have already written their intention to unite with the Roman Catholic Church on several occasions but now they have circumstantially written this intention to the Apostolic Nuncio in Poland (Warsaw), too. Therefore, the Armenians in Transylvania ask kindly the Roman Pope to receive them as his sons with his paternal love into the Roman Catholic Church in the near future and not as foreigners. Moreover, they ask humbly the Roman Pope to ordain Oxendio Virziresco as their bishop and sheperd, who has planted a good seed into them and cared about them. Similarly, the Armenians in Transylvania ask imploringly the Roman Pope to let Oxendio Virziresco be their protector in their both corporeal and spiritual consolation because they have hitherto been without a sheperd.*

Summi[119] Pontifici, Creatoris Nostri Redemptoris Vicario, et agnorum[120] et omnium Christi Archipastori vero, Capiti Universarum Ecclesiarum et uni et solo in divinis ad nos

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[114] We have not found any data on this person.
[115] We have not found any data on this person.
[116] We have not found any data on this person.
[117] See above, note 81.
[118] Addendum in the text.

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proprio et infallabili[121] spiritus sancti interpreti, Domino Nostro Sanctissimo, et felicissimo[122] Dominatori, Patri et Papae Innocentio Undecimo![123]

Nos intimissimi et humillimi filii vestri, qui aliquando eramus in Moldavia, nunc autem ob peccata nostra degentes in terra Transilvanorum sumus Armeni sacerdotes, consules, ecclesiarum praefecti[124], starosti[125] et vadahiti[126], et nominatim omnes cleri, et populus et plebs ardentissimo desiderio et devotione osculamur sacros pedes Vestrae Beatudinis et continuo oramus et petimus a Deo omnipotente firmam stabilitatem Altissimi Vestri Throni, et supremi dominis in utilitatem Christiani populi.

Et audemus notificare vobis, tamquam patri piissimo quomodo per Dei gratiam et per merita Sanctitatis[127] Vestrae et continua[128] praedicatione nostri clarissimi consocii et connationalis Domini Vartabeti Oxendii Virzesguli, quem vos nuper aluistis, et docuistis in vestro collegio[129] et ad nos misistis, venimus ad unionem, et ad obedientiam Sanctae Sedis Vestrae, per omnia et ad omnia, eodem modo et tenore, quo et Sanctus Pater Noster Magnus Gregorius Illuminator[130] fecit cum Sancto Silvestro[131]. Et speramus in Deum, quod ultra non dissolvetur haec nostra unio quamodo quidem non fuimus moti ad hoc per causam humani nutus, sed tantum per salutem animarum nostrarum et aliorum in futuro nationalium, sicuti toties scripsimus, et nunc etiam praesertim particulariter ad Illustrissimum Vestrum Nuntium in Polonia[132]. Et nunc suppliciter petimus, ut nos deinceps non tamquam alienos, sed tamquam intimos filios vestro paterno amore recipias. Et nobis supradictum Oxendium Virzesgum[133] Episcopum et Pastorem iubeas consecrari, ut sicut ille ipse plantavit bonum semen inter nos, sic ipse idem irriget, et fodiat ad accipiendum incrementum desuper[134]. Item deprecamur, ut sit nobis protector, tamquam proprius[135] omnibus[136], quia usque[137] iusto[138] fuimus sine pastore, et consolatione in

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[119] Correction in the text. In the document: *Summus*.
[120] Correction in the text. In the document: *ognorum*.
[121] Correction in the text. In the document: *in falabili*.
[122] Correction in the text. In the document: *feliciter*.
[123] Pope Innocent XI (1676–1689).
[124] Correction in the text. In the document: *praesenti*.
[125] Polish *starosta*. In Armenian: *sarōsdayk'*. In this case, it means 'mayor' or 'secular leader of the Armenian community'.
[126] Armenian: *vadahk'*. In this case, it means 'secular member of the Armenian communities' leadership'.
[127] Correction in the text. In the document: *Sanitatis*.
[128] Correction in the text. In the document: *contina*.
[129] See above, note 56.
[130] See above, note 36.
[131] See above, note 97.
[132] See above, note 34.
[133] See above, note 33.
[134] See above, note 103.
[135] Correction in the text. In the document: *propriis*.
[136] Correction in the text. In the document: *onibus*.
[137] Armenicism. The verbal translation of the Armenian expression '*minč'ew c'ayžm*' (in the meaning of *hitherto*).
[138] Correction in the text. In the document: *iusdo*.

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nostris tribulationibus, tam spiritualibus, quam corporalibus. Et ita reiterando osculum pedibus vestris perseveramus, et expectamus vestra placita.

Ego Dominus Elia Archipresbiter[139]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Dominus Vartan. L.S.[140] (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Dominus Asuazadur[141]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Thomas Consul[142] Seciovi[143]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Asvadur praefectus[144]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Cogia Christodur[145]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Lusigh praefectus[146]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Gregorius[147]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Lusighis Vadahtus[148]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Vartan Surughgiazi. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
(*648v*)
Ego Esanco Tucciozi Starosta[149]. Ego praefectus aut consul civitatis Bociani[150]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Barongian Consul civitatis Bociani[151]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)
Ego Lusigh Vadahtus[152]. L.S. (place of red-wax seal)

Deinde adest, quod scribitur italice lege, quid dicit.
Ad Papam Innocentium Undecimum. Armeni ex Transilvania.

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[139] See above, note 68.
[140] See above, note 70.
[141] See above, note 106.
[142] We have not found any data on this person.
[143] Suçeava (Arm. *Seč'ov*).
[144] We have not found any data on this person.
[145] We have not found any data on this person.
[146] We have not found any data on this person.
[147] We have not found any data on this person
[148] We have not found any data on this person.
[149] We have not found any data on this person.
[150] Botoşani (Arm. *Boč'an*, Hung. *Botusán*).
[151] We have not found any data on this person.
[152] We have not found any data on this person.

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REVIEWS, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

José Andrés González Pedraza, *Los archivos de empresas. Que son y cómo se tratan*, Ediciones TREA, 2009

Les archives d'entreprises sont une catégorie d'archives qui a déjà sa place bien méritée dans la théorie et la pratique archivistique internationale. Le Conseil International des Archives (CIA) leur a reconnu l'importance dès 1974, avec la création d'un comité qui leur était destiné. Ce comité est devenu, en 1988, section à part du CIA, la Section des Archives Economiques et Sociales.

Le livre de José Andrés González Pedraza vient donc s'inscrire dans un courant de préoccupations légitimes et largement partagées par la communauté archivistique internationale. Pour un lecteur roumain, l'ouvrage est encore plus intéressant et surtout instructif. Car le domaine des archives d'entreprises est, en Roumanie, plutôt le parent pauvre qu'on essaie de cacher, du fait de ne pas savoir comment maîtriser sa pauvreté.

D'abord, la première leçon qu'on apprend au bout de cette lecture est que l'archive est une partie importante de la culture d'une entreprise. Et que, par conséquence, le management d'une entreprise qui néglige la création et la préservation de ses archives a toutes les chances de rater sa propre mission managériale. Une bonne gestion des archives d'une entreprise est donc un acte managérial à accomplir si on veut bien servir les intérêts de l'entreprise elle-même.

Il existe ensuite un intérêt plus général, social et scientifique que les archives d'entreprises supportent d'une manière similaire à celles des autres types d'archives. González Pedraza met en exergue la manière dont cette catégorie spécifique d'archives participe aux raisons de préservation et d'utilisation des archives en général. Des domaines de l'histoire, telle que l'histoire économique ou même la micro-histoire n'auraient pas pu se développer en absence des archives d'entreprises.

Dans ce contexte, l'auteur saisie bien l'équilibre parfois difficile entre l'intérêt public et privé autour de l'utilisation des archives d'entreprises. Ainsi, si l'intérêt public réclame l'ouverture des archives et la transparence de l'information, l'intérêt privé de l'entreprise peut se heurter à la nécessité de préserver la confidentialité sur des informations concernant la marque, les stratégies de développement de l'organisation, les processus de production, etc. Ce sont des réalités qu'on doit prendre en compte quand on gère les archives d'une entreprise. Et qui rendent nécessaire un profil spécifique de l'archiviste d'entreprise. Le professionnel de ce domaine devrait donc savoir concilier les deux aspects parfois divergents, devrait être un bon communicateur, s'impliquer dans les stratégies de l'entreprise et se faire respecter en tant que partenaire de dialogue des managers, savoir en bref de représenter et mettre en valeur les archives qu'il gère tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de son organisation. Les mêmes raisons qui façonnent la structure et la finalité de la gestion des archives d'entreprises fondent donc l'éthique professionnelle de ceux qui sont en charge de leur conservation.

José Andrés González Pedraza passe en revue plusieurs législations nationales en matière de gestion des archives d'entreprise (l'Allemagne, le Royaume Uni, France, Italie, Belgique) mais également les prescriptions du Conseil International des Archives

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dans ce domaine. Il réalise une très utile démarche comparative entre des pays où la question des archives d'entreprises a été réglée de manières différentes, soit à l'initiative prépondérante de l'Etat (le cas de la France) soit à l'initiative conjointe des milieux universitaires et des entreprises elles-mêmes (Allemagne et Royaume Uni).

La situation des archives d'entreprises espagnoles, à l'organisation desquelles on dédie un chapitre à part, est intéressante surtout pour ceux qui veulent comprendre les voies et les motivations du rapide essor national dans un domaine archivistique qui, encore en 1991, était seulement à ses débuts. Ce tableau pourrait constituer un bon départ des réflexions pour les archivistes de pays où la gestion des archives d'entreprises est encore en chantier ou devrait être carrément tirée du chaos.

La dernière – et la plus substantielle – partie du livre détaille les aspects particuliers du traitement des archives d'entreprises. L'auteur décrie les différents types de documents qu'on peut trouver dans une archives d'entreprise dans leur contexte de production et de préservation. Les précisions visant l'identification correcte du producteur et l'élaboration d'un cadre de classement adéquate au profil de l'entreprise facilitent, non seulement pour les professionnels, mais aussi pour les usagés d'une archive d'entreprise, la compréhension de l'importance du contexte de production dans l'évaluation des documents de ce genre.

Le livre de José Andrés González Pedraza représente une approche pertinente des archives d'entreprise et de leur problématique spécifique. Il propose une démarche pratique et cohérente qui permet aux lecteurs de comprendre l'importance de ce type d'archive ainsi que les enjeux de sa conservation et utilisation. C'est pourquoi ce livre est une suggestion de lecture non seulement pour les archivistes, mais aussi pour les managers d'entreprises, pour les historiens de l'économie et même pour un public plus large de passionnés de l'histoire.

Alina Pavelescu

***Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete 2004. évi Vándorgyűlése. Piliscsaba, 2004. október 26-28* (hrsg. von Edit Takács), Budapest, 2006, 208 S.; *Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete 2005. évi Vándorgyűlése. Eger, 2005. augusztus 22-24* (hrsg. von Irén Bilkei), Budapest, 2006, 146 S.; *Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete 2006. évi Vándorgyűlése. Veszprém, 2006. augusztus 28-30* (hrsg. von Irén Bilkei), Budapest, 2007, 315 S.; *Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete 2007. évi Vándorgyűlése. Nyíregyháza, 2007. augusztus 22-24* (hrsg. von Irén Bilkei), Budapest, 2007, 205 S.**

Der Verband der ungarischen Archivare hat es sich zur lobenswerten Aufgabe gemacht, die Facharbeiten seiner jährlichen Wandersitzungen im Eigenverlag herauszugeben. Dabei soll bemerkt werden, dass, wie schon vorauszusetzen ist, grundlegende Fragen der Archivtheorie und -praxis in jedem der besprochenen Bände den ihnen gebührenden Niederschlag gefunden haben. So wurden bei jedem Fachtreffen der ungarischen Archivare Themen aus dem Bereich des Bestandsschutzes, der Informatik mit ihrer unmittelbaren Anwendung im Archivwessen, Auseinandersetzungen auf dem Gebiete der Quellenkunde, wie auch Fragen der archivalischen

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Geschäftsführung in den ungarischen Archiven zur Sprache gebracht. Nicht unberücksichtigt bleibe dabei die Feststellung, dass manche der von den ungarischen Kollegen dabei gewonnenen Erfahrungen auch den Archivaren aus anderen Ländern wertvolle Anregungen zum Nachdenken bzw. zur praktischen Anwendung bieten. So sei beispielsweise auf folgende Beiträge hingewiesen: Brandschutz in den Archiven (Horváth Zsolt, 2004); Erfahrungen die bei Bauunternehmern für Archivzweckbauten vorauszusetzen sind (Breinich Gábor, 2005); Massenweise Aufbewahrungsmöglichkeiten von Archivunterlagen auf säuerhältigen Papier (Kastaly Beatrix, 2005); *LightCheck* als Beaufsichtigung der Lichtmenge die das Archivgut beeinflussen (Albrechtné Kunszeri Gabriella, 2005); Kann eine massenweise Entsäuerung der Archivunterlagen in Ungarn eingeleitet werden? (Albrechtné Kunszeri Gabriella, 2007); Zur Frage der Eigenschaften von Archivmagazine (Lakos János, 2007). Aus dem Bereich der Informatik im Archivwesen sind nachstehende Beiträge von grösstem Interesse: Digitalisierte Erfassung der photographischen Sammlung von Georg Klösz (Breinich Gábor, 2004); Zur Frage der Digitalisierung von Unterlagen der ehemaligen staatssicherheitlichen Behörde (Cseh Gergö Bendegúz, 2004); Digitalisierung der Csongráder Komitatskonskriptionen von 1715 bis 1848 (Berta Zsolt, Labádi Lajos, Magyar Gábor, 2004); Rundtischgespräch über die bei Einführung des e-Archivs gesammelten Erfahrungen (2006); Einrichtung und Wirkung des e-Archiv und des DigitArchivs im Rahmen des Ungarischen Landesarchivs (Szabó Csaba, 2007).

Die Quellenkunde und Fragen zur Quellenverwaltung durch die Archivare, die Edierung der Quellen, waren ein selbstverständliches Gesprächtsthema der ungarischen Archivgemeinschaft, wie dieses auch aus den Mitteilungen anlässlich der jährlichen Wandersitzungen hervorgeht. Berténi Iván (2004) nimmt, als bekannter Fachmann auf diesem Gebiet, eine kritische Stellung zur Frage der zeitgenössischen Kommunalheraldik ein. Hegedűs András (2004) meldet über unveröffentlichte Wappenbriefe von 16.-18. Jahrhundert die im Archiv des röm. kath. Primas-Erzbischofs von Ungarn aufbewahrt werden. Bilkei Irén (2004) bringt einen sowohl dem Historiker wie dem Archivar nützlichen Beitrag über Quellen zur Komitatsarchontologie im 16. Jahrhundert. Kiss Márton (2004) bezieht sich auf die Herausgabe von Quellen durch die Universitätsarchive, mit Betonung deren besonderen Bedeutung für die Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte und ihre landesübergreifenden Verbindungen. Sölch Miklós (2005) widmet seine Aufmerksamkeit dem ehemaligen königlichen Bibliothekar Georg Fejér und dessen imposanter Quellenedition *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Nyulászíné Straub Éva (2005) erörtert verschiedene theoretische Fragen, die sich auf den Schutz des Personenrechtes in der Archivpraxis ergeben. Sölch Miklós (2006) meldet über die digitalische Herausgabe von mittelalterlichen Urkunden durch verschiedene Archive aus Ungarn. Simon István (2006) nimmt eine fachbezogene Stellung zur Frage der Herausgabe von Unterlagen der ehemaligen Ungarischen Sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei (die Kommunisten), ein Thema dass gewiss die Archivkollegen der gewesenen kommunistischen Blockländer ansprechen wird. In Anschluss an ein älteres Gesprächsthema der ungarischen Archivare untersucht Cseh Gergö Bendegúz (2007) die Frage der elektronischen Herausgabe von Quellen durch das Ungarische Landesarchiv. Eine bis z. Z. wenig berücksichtigte Forschungsrichtung, u. zw. die Abschluss- und Doktordiplome der ungarischen Hochschulen bis zum Jahre 1948, wird durch den Beitrag von Osváth Zsolt und Zsidi Vilmos (2007) sowohl dem Historiker wie dem Archivar näher gerückt.

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Zur Förderung der Archivpraxis, besser gesagt eines einheitlichen Anschnittes der Arbeit, trägt der Beitrag von Tóth Krisztina (2007) über die Fragen hinsichtlich der Herausgebe von Protokolle der röm. kath. und protestantischen Kirchenvisitationen bei. Aus dem Bereich der Archivpraxis darf auch auf andere Beiträge hingewiesen werden, die gewiss auch Archivkollegen aus den mit Ungarn benachbarten Staaten nützliche Anregungen geben werden. So bezieht sich H. Németh István (2004) auf verschiedene Fragen bei der Ordnung von Archivunterlagen der Regierungsbehörden aus der Zeit des Mittelalters, die im Ungarischen Landesarchiv aufbewahrt werden. Kisasszondy Éva (2004) bespricht verschiedene Aspekte der Ordnung von Unterlagen der ehemaligen Ungarischen Sozialistischen Partei (die Kommunisten) aus der Zeit nach 1945. Die Ordnung und Bewertung von Archivunterlagen der Universitätsarchive wird von Kiss József Mihály (2004) mit Berücksichtigung klarer Kriterien fachgerecht untersucht. Hegedűs András (2007) bezieht sich auf die Fragen die eine Archivumsiedlung voraussetzt und mit sich bringt, im gegebenen Fall die Umsiedlung des Archivs des röm. kath. Primas-Erzbischofs von Ungarn und des Graner Domkapitels. Ein aktuelles Thema, das bestimmt viele der Archivkollegen des mittel- und ostmitteleuropäischen Raumes ansprechen wird, ist jenes der Übernahme von Archivunterlagen der Kirchengemeinden, mit dem sich Vajk Ádám (2007) auseinandersetzt.

Dass infolge der im 20. Jahrhundert eingetretenen Veränderungen ein beachtliches Archivgut, das sich auf die ungarische Geschichte bezieht, in Archiven der Nachbarstaaten (Slowakei, Rumänien, Kroatien, Slowenien, Österreich) aufbewahrt wird, führte zu einem bleibenden Interesse der ungarischen Archivare für diese Quellen, das seinen Niederschlag auch in den hier präsentierten Bänden gefunden hat. Dafür zeugen die Beiträge vom Jahre 2005, wobei die Archive aus der Slowakei berüchsichtigt werden, und jene von 2007, wo sowohl über das Karlsburger (Alba Julia) röm. kath. Bistumsarchiv, über das Klausenburger Sammelarchiv der unitarischen Kirche aus Siebenbürgen, wie auch über verschiedene Archive aus dem Burgenland, aus der Wojwodina (Serbien), aus Kroatien und Slowenien (Maribor/Marienburg) berichtet wird. Dass all dieses eine gute grenzenüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit der Archivare voraussetzt ist selbstverständlich, genau wie der gesetzliche Rahmen in der sich diese abzuwickeln hat. Damit in Verbindung weisen wir auf den Beitrag von Szlabey Dorottya und Orosz Katalin (2006) hin, wo Fragen bezüglich der Ausleihung von Archivunterlagen zwecks Ausstellung im Ausland besprochen werden.

Als Fachgremium der ungarischen Archivare war es selbstverständlich, dass sich manche seiner Mitglieder auch für die Vereinsgeschichte interessiert haben. So bietet Kisasszondy Éva (2006) eine gediegene Geschichte des Vereines der ungarischen Bibliothekare und Archivare in der Zeit von 1935 bis 1951, während Böőr László (2006) die Leitungsmitglieder des Vereines der ungarischen Archivare und ihr Wirken in der Zeit von 1912 bis 2006 entsprechenderweise würdigt.

Abschliessend darf gesagt werden, dass die von uns präsentierten Bände ein Zeugnis mehr dafür sind, dass im heutigen Europa (und nicht nur dort!) die Entwicklung des Archivwesens ohne eine enge kollegiale Zusammenarbeit nicht zu denken ist.

Costin Feneşan

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The Revue of the State Archives in Katowice and its Contents

The State Archives in Katowice, Poland, publishes its yearly since 1998. The journal bears the title "Archival and historical sketches" (in Polish: "*Szkice Archiwalno-Historyczne*"). After publishing two volumes in 1998 and 2000, the Archives ceased to prepare the publication due to financial reasons. However, in 2007 there appeared the third volume and since then the institution publishes the journal every year.

The editor-in-chief is the present director of the Archives, Piotr Greiner, Ph.D., while the editor's secretary is Sławomira Krupa. The articles are reviewed by the Editing Council, which consists of two professors of the Silesian University in Katowice (Edward Długajczyk and Ryszard Kaczmarek) and one professor of the University in Wroclaw (Marek Czapliński). In 2010 the publication received the journal ranking of 6 points.

The articles in "Archival and Historical Sketches" are written mainly on the basis of documents stored in the State Archives in Katowice. The authors discuss a variety of topics, which through regional history show main themes of the European history in general. Several articles concern also the archival methodology. Besides, the journal contains edited primary sources, reviews and reports. The following is a summary of contents of the revue published between 2008 and 2010.

2008
ARTICLES

Tomasz Hajewski, *The archives functioning before 1939 within the present area of operation of the State Archives in Katowice*

The article depicts history and holdings of the archives that functioned before 1939 in the Silesian Voivodship (without the district of Częstochowa) and in the western districts of the Lesser Poland Voivodship. The archives include administrative archives, legal archives, religious archives, guild archives, industrial archives, archives of societies, and family archives. After their creation in 1932, the Archives of Historical Records for Silesian Voivodship acquired collections from several non-historical archives. The Archives of Historical Records for Silesian Voivodship functioned till the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

Barbara Kalinowska-Wójcik, *Ezechiel Zivier – his life and work as an archivist and historian in the Upper Silesia at the turn of the 19th century*

Ezechiel Zivier was the archivist of the Pszczyna princes, a scholar of Polish and Silesian history, a longtime Jewish activist, as well as an editor-in-chief of a journal devoted to popularization of the Upper Silesia. His great achievement was the founding of the first archives to collect records of the German Jews. Thus, thanks to his managerial abilities and an archival "sixth sense", he preserved many important materials. He also made a considerable contribution to archival science and historiography on a regional and trans-regional level. Born in the Russian partition and raised in a Jewish family, he studied and worked in Germany. He began as a Slavist and an Orientalist to become an accomplished historian and archivist. Upon settling in the Upper Silesia, he contributed to the revival of the regional scholarship. Consequently, the Upper Silesia became not only his workplace but also a new "little fatherland".

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Sławomira Krupa, *Ludwik Musioł (1892-1970) – a sketch to a portrait*

On the basis of archival materials recently made accessible, the author attempted to write a biographical sketch of Ludwik Musioł, a famous Upper Silesian archivist and historian. He stands out as an exceptional personage among the twentieth century's regional intelligentsia, authoring several city and parish histories, as well as works on primary sources, which are widely used in practically every modern historical publication. During World War II he worked in the Upper Silesian County Library (*Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek Beuthen-Kattowitz*) and the Institute for the Upper Silesian Research (*Institut für Oberschlesische Landesforschung*). In 1948 he was arrested and sentenced to 6 years in prison for acting against the Polish state during the war. He was released on probation in 1952. In the next years he was deprived of a right to employment, so continued his scholarly work only through the support of the Church.

Joanna Szczepańczyk, *Józefa Okoniewska – the archivist at the Archives of the Pszczyna Princes*

This is a biographical sketch of Józefa Okoniewska (1892-?), an unknown personage among archivists working in the Upper Silesia before 1939. Employed at the State Archives in Poznań, she processed the archives of Krotoszyn. In the years 1935-1939 she cooperated with Kazimierz Kaczmarczyk, Ph.D., and Ludwik Musioł in cataloguing the Archives of Pszczyna Princes.

Tomasz Hajewski, Mirosław Węcki, *Karl G. Bruchmann, Ph.D., as the leader of German archival institutions in the Upper Silesia between 1939 and 1945*

The following article provides an abbreviated biography of Karl G. Bruchmann, a renowned archivist in post-war Germany. The future director of the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz (1961-1967) spent the years 1939-1943 in Katowice, where he led German archival institutions, like Staatsarchiv Kattowitz and Archivberatungsstelle Kattowitz. Both his archival and scholarly work during that time is shown in the light of his commitment to the Nazi party.

Anna Machej, *Wacław Bandura i Karol Bałon – the first managers of the Cieszyn archives*

Both Wacław Bandura (1898-1964) and Karol Bałon (1914-1987), the first managers of the Cieszyn Branch of the State Archives in Katowice, succeeded in gathering and cataloguing an impressive collection of records, dating back to the 14th century. Presently the scholars of Eastern European history may benefit from the basic historical sources concerning the Cieszyn Silesia.

Piotr Greiner, *Professor Jerzy Jaros (1925-1992)*

This article is a biographical sketch of Jerzy Jaros, an archivist at the State Archives in Katowice in 1950-1967, where he specialized in industrial records. He created the Mining Records Department that functioned till 1960. In this period he conducted an extensive research in archival science and mining history, which resulted in obtaining a doctorate in 1964. Between 1967 and 1973 he worked at the Silesian Scientific Institute in Katowice to become a professor at the Department of History at the Silesian University in Katowice in 1973. Eight years later he organized and led Archival Studies at the Department.

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Zbigniew Kiereś, *"Kill that Polish son of the bitch!" – A contribution to the question of national awareness in the Upper Silesia in the 17th century*

The author tackles the issue of national awareness in the Upper Silesia in the 17th century. Starting with the registered accounts of hostility toward Poles and analyzing declarations and attitudes, he attempts to isolate factors that formed this awareness in the period. Moreover, he describes how the attitudes toward Poland and Poles were created. He concludes that the same language and ethnicity did not necessarily mean that the Upper Silesians felt Polish; rather they felt closer to the Kingdom of Bohemia. At the same time they had a strong sense of Silesian separateness. The relations with Poland and Poles brought both positive and negative experiences, which in turn shaped different attitudes. However, available sources make it impossible to define the social range of those attitudes.

Zdzisław Jedynak, *Records of the Oberschlesische Knappschaft zu Gleiwitz from the period 1922-1945*

This articles is a continuation of the article published in 2007 in "Szkice archiwalno-historyczne", Vol. 3. The division of the Upper Silesia in 1922 affected also workers' insurance. Two insurance companies for coal and steel miners were created: a Polish one in Tarnowskie Góry (Górnośląska Spółka Bracka w Tarnowskich Górach) and a German one in Gliwice (Oberschlesische Knappschaft zu Gleiwitz). Property and records were divided between two institutions. The records of the company in Gliwice reflect the times during which it functioned: normal activity until 1929, the Great Crisis 1929-1932 and the Nazi regime 1933-1945. They serve as the important source for industrial and social policy and the history of medical care in the German part of the Upper Silesia in 1922-1945.

Andrzej Kołodziej, *Industry in Tarnowskie Góry in the light of materials collected at the State Archives in Katowice in 2004-2008*

Recently the State Archives in Katowice have acquired archival materials from several industrial plants in Tarnowskie Góry due to either privatization ("Zamet" and "TAGOR") or liquidation ("Tarnowskie Góry") of the factories. The accession process has not ended yet, since in the near future the loan contracts between the Archives and the companies "Chemet" and "Faser" will be terminated.

Adam Dudek, Sławomira Krupa, *Weeding the records of the Polish United Workers' Party in the light of experiences of the State Archives in Katowice*

The article describes methodology of processing and problems in weeding the records of the Polish United Workers' Party after their acquisition in 1990 by the state archives. The question is illustrated by the example of the State Archives in Katowice, which holds two linear kilometers of this documentation.

MATERIALS

Paweł Hudzik, *Primary sources to the history of the Council in Zator in 1848*

Within the framework of researching the period of the Spring of Nations in the context of regional history, the article presents primary sources to the history of the

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Council in Zator, which are stored in the Oswiecim Branch of the State Archives in Katowice. The materials include protocols of the Council sessions and reports on "the state of the minds" of Zator citizens. Despite their obvious subjectivity, the latter seem to be an interesting and unique historical source.

Mirosław Węcki, *"Juden sind hier unerwünscht" – materials to the history of Jews in Zabrze in the record group Kreisleitung NSDAP Hindenburg*

"The Jewish question" held an important place in ideology and program of the Nazi Party. When the Nazis took power in Germany in 1933, they could realize their anti-Semitic policy. Although "the Final Solution" was conducted by the independent SS, the NSDAP organized several anti-Jewish actions and played a key role in the Holocaust. The records of the NSDAP in Zabrze illustrate anti-Jewish activities targeted against the Jewry in that city.

REPORTS

Piotr Greiner, *A 2007 report of the Director of the State Archives in Katowice*

In 2007 the State Archives in Katowice celebrated its 75th anniversary. On this occasion, the archivists prepared an exhibition and presented their new publications, e.g. *The guide to the collection of the State Archives in Katowice*. On April 1, 2007 the State Archives in Katowice started a project *Protection and conservation of written heritage of Cieszyn*, partially financed through the grant of the EEA Financial Mechanism and The Norwegian Financial Mechanism. The purpose of the project is to secure and digitalize the collections of the Cieszyn Branch of the Archives. Moreover, a mass deacidification plant was opened in that year too. The plant is one of four such establishments in Poland. The Archives acquired 115 new fonds amounting to 39,975 file units (431.59 linear meters). The collection increased to 4649 fonds amounting to 1, 810, 576 file units (19,218 linear meters). The archivists processed 61 fonds (23,509 file units – 236.3 linear meters).

Katarzyna Słysz-Szczucka, *Report of the 75th anniversary celebration at the State Archives in Katowice*

In November 2007 the State Archives in Katowice celebrated its 75th anniversary. The ceremony included the opening of a mass deacidification plant. Moreover, the archivists presented the exhibition *There was a document once...* and their new publications. The report describes the events, which took place on December 7th, 2008.

Tamara Domanik, Katarzyna Kwaśniewicz, *Large-scale preservation of endangered archival and library collections at the State Archives in Katowice through the Long-term Government Program "Acid Paper"*

The technological changes in paper production that were introduced in the 19th century resulted in decreasing paper quality. Paper made by machines was quickly acified and became brittle. Therefore, the "Acid Paper" Program, introduced in 2000 for 8 years, aimed at mass deacidification of endangered books and records. In 2007 the State Archives in Katowice opened a mass deacidification plant, which in the Neschen Conservation Machine C900 deacidified materials of the 19th and 20th centuries.

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2009
ARTICLES

Paweł Hudzik, *Zator during the First World War*

The article discusses the participation of the Zator inhabitants in the Polish Legions and in the Austrian Army. It also describes the daily life in the city during the war and how the creation of the Polish state influenced the local environment.

Ryszard Kaczmarek, *The organization* Todt *in the Third Reich and in Silesia in the years 1933-1945*

The organization *Todt* in the Third Reich was created because it was necessary to obtain cheap workforce to realize giant building projects. The article discusses the history of the organization in Silesia and how it participated in the most important investments of the Second World War.

Bartłomiej Warzecha, *The beginnings of the functioning of the NSDAP propaganda in the Upper Silesia (September-December 1939)*

The author analyzed the functioning of the NSDAP propaganda in the first months of the occupation of the Upper Silesia, showing the main directions of its influence on the population of the *Regierung Kattowitz* as well as applied operating procedures.

Grzegorz Bębnik, *Who was Bertold Hildebrandt? A contribution to the history of a certain misunderstanding during September 1939 in the Upper Silesia*

The article deals with mechanisms, which form mythical interpretations of events during September 1939. Using archival sources and contemporary press, the author proves the frailty of such operations.

Edward Długajczyk, *The year 1945 in printing in the Opole Silesia. An attempt to settle the account*

On the basis of an undated list of printing houses in the Opole Silesia, the author presents how the printing industry in the region changed as a result of confiscation of the German property and subsequent nationalization in the first years after the Second World War.

Adam Dziuba, *The farm of the Polish Workers' Party: political relations in the Grodków* poviat *in 1945-1948*

In May 1945 the Polish authorities sent by the Silesian *voivode* Aleksander Zawadzki reached the city of Grodków. The article discusses the process of gaining control of the administration by the members of the Polish Workers' Party, whose incompetence and dishonesty were often more than evident.

Krzysztof Langer, *Crimes and the criminals in the* poviat *of Racibórz in 1945-1950 in the light of the materials from the Racibórz Branch of the State Archives in Katowice*

The article portrays the feeling of security among the inhabitants of Racibórz and its vicinity just after the end of the Second World War. Beside describing the so

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called ordinary crimes, it informs about the crimes of the Polish police (*Milicja Obywatelska*) and of the Red Army.

Zdzisław Jedynak, *The collection of documents from the Municipal Archives in Bytom – processing methods and its significance for regional research*

The collection of documents from the Municipal Archives in Bytom encompasses the years 1477-1948 and provides important information on the functioning of judiciary system, daily life and morality of inhabitants of Bytom and vicinity. It is also interesting material for researching lingual and ethnic relations in the Upper Silesia from the 16th century until the beginning of the 19th century.

Sławomira Krupa, *Eustachy Czosnowski. The manager of the Municipal Archives in Bytom in the years 1945–1951*

The article offers a biographical sketch of Jan Eustachy Henryk Czosnowski (1881-1954), who was the manager of the Municipal Archives in Bytom between 1945 and 1951 and who authored the first post-war inventory of the collection of municipal documents.

Elżbieta Matuszek, *Stanisława Poprawska (1909-1985)*

A biographical sketch of Stanisława Poprawska, a distinguished archivist at the State Archives in Katowice. She specialized in industrial records. She also participated in collegial organs at the Archives in Katowice, as well as in the Central Methodological Commission at the Head Office of the State Archives in Warsaw.

Joanna Sowa, *Halina Bolesławska (1954-1999)*

A biographical sketch of Halina Bolesławska, the archivist at the State Archives in Częstochowa, who between November 1995 and June 1996 served as the director of the institution.

MATERIALS

Mirosław Węcki, *September 1939 in the Upper Silesia as recorded by the NSDAP in Zabrze*

Zabrze was located on the Polish-German border, therefore it served as a preparation ground for the German invasion on the Upper Silesia in 1939. The NSDAP in Zabrze played a role in those events. Directives and reports of the Party members may shed a new light on the functioning of the *freikorps* – diversion units of the *Abwehra* and on the building of the Nazi administration and propaganda in the Upper Silesia in September 1939.

Andrzej Różanowicz, *The year 1939 in the memory of a secondary school student in Katowice*

The memories of September 1939 by Andrzej Różanowicz, an eye witness of the events, who at that time attended a secondary school. After the war he lectured at the University of Economics in Katowice, obtaining a title of professor emeritus.

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COMMUNIQUES

Zdzisław Jedynak, *The unknown sources on the paintings of a Berlin artist, Adolf Menzel in the fond: the records of the city Chorzów*

On the basis of materials discovered in the collection at the State Archives in Katowice, the author presents unknown facts on the genesis and fate of the famous painting *Eisenwalzwerk in Königshütte* by Adolf Menzel. The painting was later bought by *Nationalgalerie* in Berlin.

Andrzej Kołodziej, *The sport club "Górnik" in Zabrze in the light of archival materials transferred to the State Archives in Katowice*

Between 2008 and 2009 the State Archives in Katowice acquired the historical records of the famous sport club "Górnik". The records included: materials of the general assemblies held for reporting and electoral purposes, protocols of the Board meetings, protocols of the Presidium of the Board meetings, personal records of more than 100 the club members.

Agata Rojek, *Tadeusz Karuga's (PhD) personal papers transferred to the State Archives in Katowice*

Since 2004 the collection of the State Archives in Katowice is constantly enriched by the personal papers of Tadeusz Karuga, a historian researching sport in the Upper Silesia. The article describes materials from the years 1919-1976 that deal with the development of fencing and sport clubs in the Upper Silesia.

IN MEMORIAM

Katarzyna Słysz-Szczucka, *Marian Gałuszka (February 3, 1951-December 10, 2007)*

The article is dedicated to Marian Gałuszka, a historian and an archivist who worked at the State Archives in Katowice for 35 years. In particular, it focuses on Marian Gałuszka's passion: history of Chorzów, his hometown.

REPORTS

Piotr Greiner, *A 2008 report of the Director of the State Archives in Katowice*

The Archives acquired 170 new fonds amounting to 60,999 file units (946.35 linear meters). The collection increased to 4819 fonds amounting to 1, 871, 575 file units (20,164.43 linear meters). The archivists processed 163 fonds (61,248 file units – 592.18 linear meters).

Katarzyna Słysz-Szczucka, *A 2008 report on outreach activities of the State Archives in Katowice*

In 2008 its functioning started Outreach Program Department at the State Archives in Katowice. The report describes publications and expositions (organized by the Department or by other institutions), which were presented at the Archives. It also mentions projects, conferences, seminars, and scholarly publications in which participated the archivists from Katowice.

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REVIEWS AND SUMMARIES

Tomasz Hajewski, *Frédéric Dessberg, Enjeux et rivalités politiques franco-britanniques: le plébiscite de haute Silésie (1921), "Revue historique des armées", nr 254, 1er trimestre 2009, s. 53-66.*

The review summarizes the article of Frédéric Dessberg which dealt with the antagonism between France and Great Britain during the plebiscite in the Upper Silesia in 1921.

2010
ARTICLES

Piotr Greiner, *Plans of the towns in the Prussian Upper Silesia between 1811 and 1815*

The author analyzes the first successful attempt to create in the Prussian Upper Silesia a cartographically standardized set of large-scale city plans. In effect, despite the archival losses in the Second World War, a modern scholar may access today a tool to compare 28 out of 30 towns existing in the beginning of the 19th century. It must be pointed out that all 28 cities, which were photographed cartographically in the same historical moment, have a basic map in the scale 1:7200.

Przemysław Snoch, *The registry of the city Sosnowiec in 1916-1939*

The article describes organization and functioning of the registry of the city government in Sosnowiec during the First World War and in the years 1918-1939. Using internal ordinances in the fond *City records of Sosnowiec* the author discusses the registry system employed by the municipality. He also mentions the attitude of the authorities toward a 1931 reform of record management in Poland and difficulties concerning introduction of a non-journal registry system based on a thematic file plan.

Edward Długajczyk, *Political and investigative units of the Police of the Silesian Voivodeship 1922-1939*

In the Upper Silesia in the years 1922-1939 not only Polish military intelligence, but also political units of the autonomic Police of the Silesian Voivodeship carried out intelligence activity against the Germans. Initially, it included offensive actions in the German part of the region; later, it was limited to defensive counter-intelligence. The author presents changes in organization of the political and investigative units along with their successes and failures in fighting foreign intelligence.

Krzysztof Langer, *A contribution to the history of 'small fatherlands' – what stank in Lubomia and why Grabówka seceded*

The article focuses on a small episode in the history of three towns in the present district of Wodzisław (former district of Rybnik): Syrynia, Grabówka, Lubomia. In the early twenties of the 20th century the inhabitants of Grabówka decided to leave the commune of Syrynia and integrate with the commune of Lubomia. They sent their decision to the district administration in Rybnik requesting approval. The whole matter was rooted not in logical arguments, but in mutual mischievousness, insults and complaints. Thus, it illustrates local pettiness and barratry.

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Grzegorz Bębnik, *"Kowalski and company". An episode in the history of German subversion in August and September 1939*

The author recounts one of the cases of German subversion in August 1939 – the attempt to blow up railway between Częstochowa and Poraj. On the basis of records of the Police of the Silesian Voivodeship and records of the German *Abwehr*, the author tries to reconstruct the events, focusing on the would-be assailants and their connections with the German intelligence. In the conclusion, the author debates whether the case could have mirrored the preparation of the *Abwehr* to its actions in the beginning of the Second World War.

Mirosław Węcki, *First months of the occupation of Olkusz during the Second World War in the light of landrat Heinrich Groll's records*

During the Second World War the district of Olkusz was located between the German Upper Silesia and the General Gouvernement (GG). Germans incorporated the western part of the district into the Reich because of its industrial value. However, due to the Polish character of the region, the reality of occupation resembled situation in GG rather than in the Upper Silesia. It impacted directly the functioning of the local German administration, as its leader, landrat Heinrich Groll, detailed it in his reports between September 1939 and June 1940.

Sławomira Krupa, Antonina Staszków, *The staff of the Staatsarchiv Kattowitz in 1939-1945 according to its personal records*

The article portrays the personnel of the German archives in Katowice during World War II, the *Staatsarchiv Kattowitz*. It describes education and recruitment of the archivists. Basing their research on literature and personal records, the authors attempt to present biographies of the directors as well as their subordinates.

Jakub Grudniewski, *The example of tragic fate of the Upper Silesians in Wehrmacht – Josef Steinski of Königshütte*

The records of the Wehrmacht military court (*Gericht der Wehrmacht - Kommandantur des Industriegebiets Oberschlesien*) serve as a basis for describing tragic fate of the Upper Silesians coerced into service in the German Army during World War II. The records illustrate ruthless work of the military justice administration (even in January 1945) and tragic lives of men obligated to fight in foreign uniforms in foreign lands.

Dariusz Węgrzyn, *Difficult coexistence. Relationship between the Polish civil administration and the Soviet authorities in the Opole Silesia between March and December 1945*

The article treats situation in the former German part of the Upper Silesia (so called Opole Silesia) in 1945 after conquest of this region by the Soviet Army. The new Polish administration had to cooperate with the Soviet military authorities and military units. The author intends to show how the Soviets influenced key events in the history of the area: theft of the industrial potential, displacements, migration, national policy, creation of the political system and the Polish administration. The article presents also crimes committed by the soldiers of the Red Army.

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Tomasz Szafron, Radosław Miłych, *Personal records of the Polish United Workers' Party in the State Archives in Katowice as a source for research of the history of the Polish People's Republic*

Not only archival materials of the Polish United Workers' Party (acquired by the State Archives in Katowice in 1991), but also non-archival materials, as personal records and salary lists of employees of the Party, are valuable historical source. The authors point out that those documents are the most important sources for writing biographies of the Party officials and for researching the functioning of the Communist regime in Poland before 1989.

MATERIALS

Zdzisław Jedynak, *Katowice [Kattowitz], Kuźnica Bogucka [Bogutschützer Hammer] and Brynów [Brwinow] according to the Urbarium of 1702*

The article examines an unpublished part of the Urbarium written in 1702. It depicts the social structure of Katowice, Kuźnica Bogucka and Brynów in the beginning of the 18th century, when agriculture was still the main occupation of their inhabitants, although the group involved in a local iron steel mill was growing steadily. The mill still functioned on the basis of a feudal relationship. The document describes the period, when local peasants and craftsmen spoke only Polish.

Tomasz Hajewski, *Annexation of Zaolzie in 1938 in the reports of the French military attaché in Warsaw*

The goal of the article is to present an unknown historical source stored at the *Service Historique de la Défense* in Vincennes. It consists of the reports of the French military attaché, general Felix Musse, which he sent to Paris between September and October 1938. The reports describe the Polish annexation of the Czech part of the Cieszyn Silesia (called by Poles "Zaolzie") during the partition of Czechoslovakia following the München Conference.

Mirosław Węcki, *Unknown reports of the Upper Silesian* Sicherheitsdienst *1942-1943*

During processing of the archival collection of the State Archives in Katowice, there were separated materials that had been created by the Sicherheitsdienst. This Nazi secret police had functioned in the area of Provinz Oberschlesien (1941). The reports show mainly reactions of the Upper Silesian community to the defeat of the German Army at the Battle of Stalingrad. Moreover, they contain surprising information on public awareness concerning Konzentration Lager Auschwitz.

REPORTS

Piotr Greiner, *A 2009 report of the State Archives in Katowice*

In the year 2009, the State Archives in Katowice acquired 29,597 file units from 121 archival fonds, which amounted to 507 linear meters. The Archives' collection increased to 4,940 fonds, that is, to 1,901,172 file units (20,672 linear meters). The archivists from Katowice processed 346 fonds (completely or in part), which included 61,658 file units (585.40 linear meters).

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Sabina Klimkiewicz, *Managing the project 'The Preservation and Restoration of Cieszyn's Written Heritage' in the State Archives in Katowice*

The article sums up the project carried out by the State Archives in Katowice in 2007-2010. The purpose of the project was to secure archival collection of the Cieszyn Branch of the State Archives in Katowice and make it available for academic and cultural use. The project was partially financed through the grant of the EEA Financial Mechanism and The Norwegian Financial Mechanism.

Tomasz Hajewski[*]

Peter Siani-Davies, *The Romanian Revolution of December 1989*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 2005, 315 p.

For any scholar interested in the former communist world, Romania is an odd case in many ways. The late-Soviet and East European studies discipline, at its heart a Russian and Slavic- centred field of enquiry, was always inadequately equipped to deal with the peculiarities of a Latin country deeply anchored within the political culture of southeast Europe. As a result, works published on Romania by western academics even since the fall of communism are still limited in number and scope. The country deserves more attention because of its size and strategic importance due to its former position as the second largest Soviet satellite state in Europe. Its foreign and military policy was also quasi-independent from Moscow, and it was governed by one of the harshest communist dictatorships, which, in 1989, underwent a uniquely violent regime change akin to the classical revolutions.

Peter Siani-Davies, with this highly detailed book, represents one of the few notable exceptions to the rule regarding academic publications on Romania. He sets himself the enormously ambitious task of charting the events of the Romanian revolution between December 1989 and January 1990. His chief objective is "to provide as accurate and as credible a narrative of the revolution as possible" (p. 6). He also, to a lesser extent, seeks to ascertain the relevance of these events to the current debates about the nature of revolutions.

There was little public dissent in Romania during the forty-two years of communist rule. The party, through its well-oiled structure and large security apparatus that included political police (the dreaded "*securitate*"), militia (militarised police), army, and armed workers' formations ("patriotic guards"), constituted a totalitarian regime of truly Orwellian dimensions governing an impoverished population of over 22 million. The revolution, in just a matter of days, pulverised this monstrous monolith and reached a climax when the presidential couple, the regime's symbolic embodiment, was executed on Christmas Day 1989.

The Romanian revolution has achieved notoriety as the first "televised revolution", its dramatic events being witnessed, or indeed shared, live worldwide. That was a decisive factor in its swift dissemination and the virtually instantaneous mobilisation of Romania's population from towns to the remotest villages. It heralded a

[*] The State Archives in Katowice, Poland.

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new era in which mass instantaneous communication facilitated by today's technology had a direct impact and rallied masses of people over a large territory immediately, an event without precedent.

The book contains seven well balanced chapters in which the first and last deal with the causes, mechanisms, and theoretical implications of the Romanian revolution, while the other five recount the peculiar course of the revolution with theoretical and historical cross-references.

To the extent that a clear pattern of events might be accentuated and pursued in the book's dense texture, the reader senses the major role that Romanian nationalism played throughout the revolution.. The communist regime's legitimacy rested chiefly on its claim to be the sole guardian of national identity against internal and external threats. This was turned completely on its head once Ceausescu ordered the troops to open fire on demonstrators, thereby 'killing *Romanians*,' a phrase that spread like wildfire, as a horrified population heard in the first days of revolution from clandestine recordings broadcast on western radio stations. The author is absolutely right to point out that these gruelling incidents personified a 'Manichean battle between good and evil' (p. 79), but he fails to develop the importance of nationalism as one of the major causes of the revolution that also conditioned its course. That would have been better achieved by a more extensive recourse to Keith Hitchins' seminal writings charting the evolution of Romanian national formation or even those by the long forgotten Robert William Seton-Watson. I am also not convinced by the attempt to put the phenomenon of nationalism into perspective using mainly Katherine Verdery's anthropological considerations on Romanian identity (pp. 202-203). A more apt framework for the Romanian case is offered instead by Walker Connor's notion of ethnonationalism, which is based on myths of common descent, or Miroslav Hroch's thinking on the identity of 'small nations'.

This is a book full of information that gives the reader the impression that Peter Siani-Davies has read every source in English, Romanian, and French pertaining to the Romanian revolution and has gone through the most obscure press-communiqués issued during those momentous events. He even mentions the abnormally warm weather for a country with Siberia-like winters as a crucial environmental factor that enabled a large number of revolutionaries to confront the repressive forces day and night. Occasionally, the weight of detail obscures the clarity of the narrative, but this book will remain a mine of information for all those interested in Romania in particular and revolutions in general. It is also the first serious attempt in any language to present and explain this pivotal event in recent Romanian history and politics.

Valentin Mandache[*]

Sheilah Kast and Jim Rosapepe, *Dracula is Dead: How Romanians Survived Communism, Ended it, and Emerged as the New Italy Since 1989,* Bancroft Press, 400 pp, hardback, November 2009

The United States throughout the Cold War decades has been a beacon of democracy and freedom for the peoples of Eastern Europe. Americans and their

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representatives were enthusiastically received in the region as friends and liberators after the momentous 1989 revolutions. Romania emerged from one of the harshest communist dictatorships and embarked upon a bumpy transition road to democracy. The second half of the 1990s has been a crucial period in that process, when the first truly non-communist government and president were elected, the market economy reforms were first properly implemented and King Michael, the hero of the WWII who put an end to the Nazi regime in Romania, was allowed back from exile and had his citizenship restored.

Ambassador James Rosapepe was the US envoy to this country during most of that crucial period, from 1998 to 2001, and together with his wife, the distinguished journalist Sheila Kast, gathered in this timely and remarkable book their impressions and insights about Romania and Romanians. Their writing is easy to follow and fluent, giving a wholesome image of their experiences in post-communist Romania. The book is also a travelogue and an analysis of the mentalities of a people that survived one of the most oppressive communist regimes, or as the authors stated: "it is not a guidebook, but rather a look at a country and a people through American eyes" (p. 8). The volume is fittingly published s part of the celebrations of the 20 years anniversary of the fall of communism in Eastern Europe.

The Romanian experience opened a new world for the ambassadorial couple and they felt the need to cherish and share in their writing the memories of a unique encounter and dialogue with citizens of Romania from various parts of this country. The realities of this corner of Eastern Europe, where Romania is located, are aptly presented in connection with excellent vignettes of the history of its picturesque regions spanning from places like Transylvania in the west to Dobrogea in the east.

When I first learnt about this book and its impending publication, my first thought went to William S. Culbertson who was the plenipotentiary minister of the USA in Romania in 1925 – '28. He also wrote his travel impressions round then Romania, but his writings were never published. Those were the times after the First World War; Rosapepe and Kast wrote after another great turning point in history, the falling of communism. The authors closely followed in the footsteps of their predecessor, and brought continuity and insight over the intervening decades; writing fascinating stories and impressions following their visit to different regions of Romania, such as: "Living in 'The Paris of the East'", "Inside Transylvania", "Deep in the Heart of Romania", "In the Mountains of Maramures", "It's Moldavia, not Moldova", "The Blue Danube and the Black Sea". Romania is not only about Dracula, orphans and dictatorship. Romania is 'Latin, with Roman ruins, government corruption, world-class creativity, a zest for life and vivacious, attractive people' (p. 19), and the comparison with Italy, continued with reference to Romania's political geography "was split for centuries between Germanic culture and Mediterranean influence" (p. 20).

They saw "more of Romania and of Romanians… than most foreigners and even many Romanians have" (p. 5). The authors present in the book a multitude of interviews and conversations with people from all walks of life: from the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church (p. 36-44), King Michael of Romania (p. 115-139) to students and IT graduates. There are also vignettes of the politicians, especially those of: Radu Vasile, then Prime Minister of Romania (p. 94), Ion Diaconescu (p. 178 – leader of the National Christian Democratic Peasant Party – PNȚCD, then part of the government), the Romanian president Emil Constantinescu (p. 56-64), Mugur Isărescu, governor of the Central Bank and then PM (p. 219); Klaus Johannis, the mayor of Sibiu ("Who wouldn't want a

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German to be your Mayor?" p. 169). The interview with the former King of Romania presents some unique moments from the monarch life along with a brief introduction in the history of the Romanian monarchy.

There are also presented interesting moments such as the visit of Pope John Paul II in Romania in 1999, the first visit of the head of the Catholic church in a majority Orthodox state (p. 81-85), the celebrations of 4th July Independence Day (p. 262-264) not only in Bucharest but also in other parts of Romania, such as Bacău (p. 265), the meeting with Joe Biden, then US senator, with Petre Roman, president of the Romanian Senate (p. 353-354, "Joe Biden in Byzantium").

The title of the volume 'Dracula is Dead' signifies that isolation and powerlessness are no more real for Romania than the infamous Dracula, "myths which oppressed them for centuries (not just during the Communist years) are just that – myths" (p. 400). The book thus goes out of its way to show that indeed Dracula in Romania has now long dead, even his modern incarnation in the form of Ceauşescu's dictatorship, and in my opinion Kast and Rosapepe succeed in demonstrating that copiously.

This is not only an American point of view about an exotic and far off country; it is a journal of an American diplomatic couple about Romania. If you are curious to find out more about the people of this country and its place of importance, its politics and politicians of the second decade after the fall of communism, then this book should be in the top echelon of a must read list.

Diana Mandache[*]

[*] Historian, author of *Romania, Mitteleuropa şi Balcanii*, Pro Transilvania, 1999; *Marie of Romania. Images of a Queen*, Rosvall Royal Books, 2007; *Later Chapters of My Life. The Lost Memoir of Queen Marie of Romania*, Sutton, 2004.

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ARCHIVAL STUDIES IN THE WORLD

Digitisation and Digital Communication. Some Experiences and Reflections from the National Archives of Denmark

Over recent decades, much of the world has developed and transformed from a so-called industrial society to a society fueled by digital information and knowledge – this is also the case in Denmark. In 2007 we reformulated the strategic plan of the National Archives to reflect this change. Three major objectives for 2015 were decided upon:

- comprehensive digital communication;
- the safeguarding of digital archives;
- the development of the National Archives as the principal centre for knowledge.

In the following remarks I want to focus on the first strategic goal, the ambitious desire of the archives to offer comprehensive digital communication, and why we want to do so.

To a large extent the world has become digital. E-mails, the Internet, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other Web 2.0 tools have revolutionized our daily lives and our ways of communicating, seeking and using information. SMS-services for bank operations and ticket purchases and SKYPE video telephony are just a few examples of digital behaviors that already are a normal part of everyday life. Future communication will soon make commonplace use of video consultations, video conferences and other media. This pace of digital development demands that we find tenable solutions to the adaptive challenges to our daily activities. At the same time, digital innovations present us with broad ranges of new possibilities for achieving our goal of being the archive for all of society, and an attractive and accessible cultural resource for all ages and all social classes.

These days there is an enormous interest in history; each week TV offers historical series searching to uncover the roots of known and unknown individuals – and all of these earn good viewer ratings! Dedicated history channels are forthcoming and historical books are published and sold in large numbers. It is tempting to assert that history is more popular than ever. Yet, even though the National Archives are the backdrop and source of research materials used for televised history broadcasts and for published books, increased awareness of history unfortunately has not led to a greater understanding by the general population of the function of the archives, nor has it resulted in a rush to use our reading rooms.

Today we have a large and loyal group of visitors who come to our reading rooms to avail themselves of our extensive collections and to do research. The users are scholars - especially students doing extended essays, and local historians, with the majority being family history researchers. Apart from students the typical user is usually 50 years of age or older. This age group is a steady and even increasing group of users. The problem, however, is that neither young people nor the working part of the population seem to be interested in the archives. The reasons, of course, are many.

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Although the archives reading rooms welcome researchers and try to make them comfortable, it is both difficult and time-consuming for some to travel to reading rooms and then to navigate through endless boxes of papers, one after another, filled with documents in handwriting that is sometimes barely legible. Only a few seasoned researchers know how much information is to be found in the archives and how to find it. Even today most people think that archives are simply dusty storage halls overseen by aging archivists This incorrect understanding of archives and archivists has to be changed, and here digital advances provide exceptional possibilities and ways to reach "everybody"! The digital user has the potential to hunt for treasure in the archives anytime and from anywhere. The records may be used by the scholar, the student, schools, families, family history researchers, the press, and media in any city all over the world, at any time of the day - accessible to suit each person's schedule and information needs.

If we also want to engage and create interest among our youth and the working population, specific strategies and applications must be developed, appealing to the individual interests and needs of each of these target groups. Furthermore, we have to remain very conscious about the fact that in reaching out to these groups, we are up against tough competition from both cultural and leisure experiences. Therefore, whatever the archives offers, and whatever the purpose may be, it has to be regarded as easy and profitable for such users to want to visit the archives.

We must professionally explore all the potential that digital technology offers in order to attract and engage new users, especially those who normally would not be in the archives but would prefer to stay elsewhere to research and seek new information. Generally, users in the target groups will be comfortable and often very skilled in using IT tools and the Internet. They will expect not only to digitally perform Internet searches for information at the item level but to immediately view document "hits" on their screens. Only in the case of rarely used document types will the user expect and be willing to accept a brief delay in image delivery times, or even tolerate the use of an "on demand" digitising-facility requiring online user payment.

Digitising the general archives has proved a feasible undertaking in all of the Nordic countries. In Denmark the *Dansk Demografisk Database* [Danish demographic database] and *Arkivalieronline* [online archival records] ("AO") containing millions of censuses and church records have made otherwise centralized resources accessible in every corner of the country. A computer and Internet connection can provide anyone and everyone access to digitized resources. Access is no longer dependent on the geographic location and operating hours of a reading room.

Until sometime in 2003, we were facing great pressure on the capacity of archives reading rooms to serve researchers and the public. At its peak in 2001, approximately 100,000 visitors a year used the reading rooms, often resulting in big problems in servicing the demands and expectations of the users for access. With the development of AO and its comprehensive online digital resources, The pressure on the reading rooms has declined significantly. Today the number of annual visitors has decreased by almost 50% from the highs of 2001.

The interest in *Arkivalieronline* has continued to increase, and the annual number of visits is now approximately 1.8 million. In Norway and Sweden, where they have even more records online, use of digital records is even greater.

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The conclusions in the 2009 report from the Ministry of Culture "Digitising the Cultural Heritage" stress that in any digitisation project records of high use and importance should bear a high priority. In addition to censuses and church records, records of probate divisions, military and naval registrations, last will registers, registers of tenancies, trade licence registers, and insurance records are iterated.

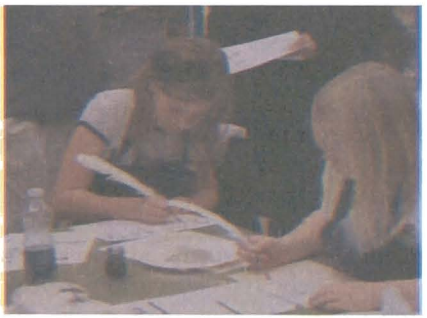
Significant advances in digital technology will confront us technically and financially, but the biggest challenges are:
- to identify resources and establish high quality metadata for improved descriptions;
- to create better user interfaces and searching capabilities;
- to develop Internet manuals; and
- to create virtual classrooms with the potential for utilizing data for experiments and tests, new forms of information delivery and arrangement, and virtual exhibitions of information for interactive use.

To successfully overcome these challenges, it will be necessary to actively include relevant user groups in every stage of planning and development. The present users of the archives are ready to participate in such collaboration. In Denmark we have experienced an enthusiastic and widespread response from volunteers, which has resulted in many legacy-based resources being transcribed and published on the Internet to-date.

An increase in digitized resources will not obviate the need for reading rooms. Over time, however, less crowding and greater ease of access will make new users return to the archives. Users will also need to work in a reading room in order to study and examine original documents – in addition to enjoying the benefits of digital access for searching and examining archives online.

Previously we could only hope that users of the National Archives would somehow find out about us on the Internet. Now the quantity of information online is so huge that we have to use the Internet to develop new strategies for serving patrons. How are we to market the archives in the future? That will be a central theme in future discussions for the strategic plan of the National Archives.

Rigsarkivet



Young visitors

Asbjørn Hellum[*]

[*] National Archivist of Denmark. Photos by Ernst Tobisch

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Emden, 1866-1918 als Bestand der Vierten Registratur im Stadtarchiv Emden. Ein Erschließungsprojekt

Bestandstektonik

Die Aktenbestände des Stadtarchivs lassen sich bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts nicht nach dem Provenienzprinzip ordnen. Eine Ausnahme bilden die Rechnungsakten der Kämmerei und die Akten des Gasthauses, der Armenverwaltung der Stadt Emden. Sie bilden eigene Bestände.

Die Mehrzahl der Akten ließe sich technisch unter der Provenienz "Magistrat der Stadt Emden" verzeichnen. Allerdings entstünde dann ein System, das als Findmittel nicht geeignet wäre. Dieses Problem erkannte um 1770 bereits der städtische Archivar und Registrator Scipio Nellner. Er verzeichnete die Akten und Amtsbücher aus der Zeit zwischen 1470 und 1749 als einen geschlossenen Bestand. Dieser wurde als Ratsarchiv bezeichnet. Seine Nachfolger setzten dieses Verzeichnungsprinzip fort, sodass chronologisch gegliederte Bestände entstanden. Für sie bürgerte sich die Bezeichnung "Registratur" ein. Bis 1945 entstanden folgende Registraturen:

Erste Registratur: Epoche 1470-1749: Emden in der Grafschaft/Fürstentum Ostfriesland.

Zweite Registratur: Epoche 1744/49-1806: Emden unter preußischer Landesherrschaft.

Municipalregistratur: Epoche 1806-1815: Emden unter napoleonischer Herrschaft.

Dritte Registratur: Epoche 181-1866: Emden im Kgr. Hannover.

Vierte Registratur: Epoche 1866-1918: Emden in der wilhelminischen Ära.

Fünfte Registratur: Epoche 1919-1940: Emden in der Weimarer Republik/NS-Diktatur.

Die Erste Registratur wurde zwischen 2001 und 2004 mit Hilfe der AIDA – Datenbank verzeichnet. Das Inventar erschien als Buchveröffentlichung in 2005.

Der in diesem Beitrag vorgestellte Bestand ist die Vierte Registratur. Ihre Erschließung erfolgte unter dem Aspekt einer großen Benutzernachfrage. Die Vierte Registratur ist der Bestand einer entwickelten, gegliederten Verwaltung. Die Menge der zu erschließenden Akten beträgt 60 lfde Meter. Es lassen sich zwei Aktentypen unterscheiden: Generalakten und Fallakten. Die Einzeldokumente weisen auf eine ausdifferenzierte Verwaltungsstruktur, wenngleich eine Bildung von Fachämtern noch nicht stattgefunden hat. Als Vorstufe dazu kann die Einrichtung von Kommissionen durch den Magistrat gesehen werden. Diese Kommissionen wurden zur Erledigung von Sonderaufgaben eingerichtet. Solche Aufgaben waren die Organisation des Hafenausbaus, Verkehrsprojekte, Industrieansiedlung, Schulwesen etc. Weil einige Aufgaben, wie z. B. das Schulwesen, dauernd waren, blieben diese Kommissionen bestehen. Der nächste Schritt hin zum Fachamt war folgerichtig und erfolgte während des Ersten Weltkrieges, als sich die Aufgaben der Verwaltung derartig vermehrten, dass sie nur noch von hauptberuflichen Kräften erledigt werden konnten. Im Bau- und Schulbereich erfolgte die Amtsentwicklung am augenfälligsten. Allerdings hat sie auf die Bestandstektonik der Vierten Registratur keinen Einfluss. Bedeutsam wird diese Entwicklung bei der Analyse der Fünften Registratur.

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Gliederung des Bestandes

Die Bearbeitung eines Bestandes mit Hilfe der AIDA – Datenbank verlangt die Erstellung einer Gliederung als vorbereitenden Schritt. Jeder Gliederungsabschnitt erhält eine Klassifikationskennzahl, der nach Eingabe in die Datenbank jede einzelne Akte zugeordnet wird. Da bereits ein nach Aktentiteln gebildetes Findbuch der Vierten Registratur vorliegt, war zu prüfen, ob die dortigen Gliederungsabschnitte zu übernehmen sind oder nicht. Das neue Findbuch soll ein Abbild des Bestandes sein und seine Strukturen aufzeigen. Es darf allerdings nie der Aspekt der Benutzerfreundlichkeit aus den Augen verloren werden. Der Benutzer muss die für seine Fragestellungen geeigneten Akten schnell ermitteln können.

Das vorliegende Findbuch der Vierten Registratur wurde in den 1950er Jahren erstellt. Als Gliederung wurde ein Aktenplan der Stadt Emden aus den 1880er Jahren übernommen, der auf einen Plan aus der Hannoverschen Herrschaft beruhte. Als Emden 1866 die seit 1815 stets herbeigesehnte preußische Landesherrschaft zurückerhielt, änderte sich im Verwaltungsrecht wenig. Die Musteraktenordnungen des Hannoverschen Innenministeriums blieben erhalten. Sie wurden bis 1914 den sich verändernden Anforderungen an die Verwaltung angepasst.

Bei der Bearbeitung der Vierten Registratur in den 1950er Jahren wurde kein Abgleich zwischen den vorhandenen Akten und den Gliederungspunkten des Aktenplans vorgenommen. So enthält das Findbuch Gliederungspunkte, zu denen keine Akten existieren. Diese Punkte wurden entweder bereits von der Stadtverwaltung vor 1914 nicht belegt, oder diesbezügliche Akten gingen infolge der verschiedenen Auslagerungen und Umverlagerungen während des Zweiten Weltkrieges und in den Zeitraum zwischen 1945 und 1962 verloren.

Deshalb musste der Abgleich nachgeholt werden. Die Gliederung war dem tatsächlichen Aktenbestand anzupassen. Für die Erschließung des Bestandes der Vierten Registratur mit Hilfe der AIDA – Datenbank ist die Erstellung einer Gliederung eine essentielle Vorarbeit. Jeder Gliederungspunkt erhält eine Klassifikationskennzahl, nach der die eingegebenen Akten durch das Datenbankprogramm eingeordnet werden.

AIDA – Datenbank: Funktionsbeschreibung

Das Datenbankprogramm AIDA ist eine Entwicklung des niedersächsischen Landesbetriebs für Informatik. Zur Anwendung kam es zunächst bei den Landesarchiven. Seit 2001 kann das Programm und die dazu gehörige technische Unterstützung durch die Kommunalarchive in Niedersachsen erworben werden. Seit 2006 enthält das Produktpaket AIDA eine Exportmöglichkeit zur Internetplattform "archivportal-niedersachsen.de". Diese Internetplattform soll dem interessierten Nutzer auf Archivbestände im gesamten Bundesland Niedersachsen hinweisen. Das setzt allerdings die allgemeine Verwendung von AIDA voraus. Die Direktion der niedersächsischen Landesarchive als Aufsichtsbehörde über die Kommunalarchive ist durchaus bestrebt, AIDA als Datenbanknorm im ganzen Bundesland durchzusetzen. Viele Kommunalarchive verwenden allerdings Datenbankprogramme anderer Hersteller, die nicht mit AIDA kompatibel sind. Sie können die Daten ihrer Bestände nicht in das Archivportal Niedersachsen transferieren. Zum Vorteil für die Archivbenutzer sollte eine

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Möglichkeit entwickelt werden, Daten aller gängigen Datenbankprogramme nach dem Archivportal exportieren zu können.

AIDA besteht aus zwei Teilen. Das erste Teil des Produktes ist die Eingabemaske. Sie enthält folgende Kategorien:

a. Nummer/Bestandsnummer;
b. Bestandssignaturangabe.
c. Laufzeit: Anfang/Ende // Nebenlaufzeit: Anfang/Ende;
d. Klassifikationsnummer A (Gliederungskennzahl)//Klassifikationsnummer B (Best.-Nummer);
e. Angabe zum Erhaltungszustand /Restaurationsbedürftigkeit;
f. Angabe zum Umfang der Akte;
g. Angabe zum Material der Akte (Beschreibstoff);
h. Titeleingabe/Enthältfeld;
i. Indexe.

Das Programm gibt folgende Indexe vor:
- Geografischer Index (GEOB);
- Index der Institutionen (INST);
- Personenindex (PERS);
- Herkunftsort (HER);
- Beruf (BER) bei Personalakten;
- Sachindex (SACH);
- Freier Index (kann vom Bearbeiter definiert werden).

Der Bearbeiter gibt die Daten zu jeder erschlossenen Akte in die vorgegebenen Felder der Eingabemaske ein. Hat er den Bestand vollständig eingegeben oder eine größere Anzahl von Akten bearbeitet, kann er mit Hilfe des zweiten Teils von AIDA eine Findbucheditierung vornehmen. Der zweite Teil von AIDA, die Programmaske, nimmt die Sortierung der Daten vor. Nach dem Abschluss der Sortierung erscheint auf dem Bildschirm die Findbuchausgabe. Diese Findbuchausgabe kann in eine PDF – Datei oder in eine WORD – Datei transferiert werden. Die Transferierung in WORD erlaubt eine Layout – Bearbeitung, die bei einer geplanten Printausgabe notwendig ist. Schließlich kann nach der Sortierung der Export nach dem Internetportal Niedersachsen erfolgen.

Registratur in AIDA

Der Bestand der Vierten Registratur umfasst 120 lfde. Meter Akten. Das sind etwa 4.000 Akteneinheiten. Ein bisher existierendes Findbuch, ein titularisches Verzeichnis, basiert auf eine Aktenordnung. Leider wurde bei der ersten Erschließung in den 1950er Jahren kein Abgleich der vorhandenen Akteneinheiten mit der Aktenordnung durchgeführt. Auch konnte die betr. Aktenordnung nicht ermittelt werden. Häufig veränderte Aktenzeichen deuten indes auf Veränderungen hin, die mit der sich vollziehenden Differenzierung der Verwaltung ab 1900 unausweichlich waren. Allerdings erlaubt die dem Findbuch aus den 1950er Jahren zugrunde liegende Aktenordnung eine inhaltliche Gliederung. Nicht mit Akten besetzte Gliederungspunkte

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waren zu streichen. Neu auftauchende Gliederungsaspekte ersetzten sie oder wurden eingefügt.

Die Erschließung der Akten musste folgende Aspekte beachten:

1. Prüfung des Titels: Abgleich mit dem Akteninhalt und behutsame Modernisierung;
2. Wiederherstellung der Aktenserien nach Möglichkeit;
3. Eingabe des wesentlichen Akteninhalts oder der wesentlichen Vorgänge in das "Titelfeld" der AIDA – Datenbank zur Hinführung der Benutzer zur Akte;
4. Index als Hilfsmittel für die Benutzer.

Bei einigen Akten bzw. Aktenserien bedeutet diese Vorgehensweise einen erheblichen Arbeitsaufwand. Die Ausnützung der Kapazitäten der AIDA – Datenbank erlaubt eine Verbesserung des Benutzerservices, was durch die Verminderung von Fehlaushebungen dem Erhaltungszustand der Archivalien zugute kommt.

Das neu entstehende AIDA – Findbuch bildet die Struktur des Bestandes ab. Es erlaubt bereits Einblicke in historische Zusammenhänge bevor ein Blick in Einzelakten geworfen wird.

Schluss

Die Erschließung von Archivbeständen mit Hilfe des Datenbanksystems AIDA erlaubt die Erstellung benutzerfreundlicher Findbücher. Sie ermöglichen eine zielgerichtete Recherche und sparen damit Zeit. Allerdings ist ein erhebliches Arbeitszeitkontingent erforderlich, um Altbestände in AIDA einzuarbeiten. Am Beispiel der Vierten Registratur des Stadtarchivs Emden wurde das beispielhaft aufgezeigt.

Rolf Uphoff[*]

Digitalisierte slawische Manuskripte aus der Sammlung des Akademie-Archivs der Bulgarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Das Studium des Wesens und des Kulturerben der Heiligen Gebrüder Cyrillus und Methodius verbindet in sich linguistische, historische, literarische, textologische, theologische, kunstwissenschaftliche, paläographische und andere Recherchen über den slawischen, griechischen, lateinischen und römisch-germanischen Quellen vom Leben und Wesen der Gebrüder von Saloniki, über die politische und literarische Tätigkeit der slawischen Glaubensboten und ihrer Schüler und Anhänger in Bulgarien im IX-X Jhdt., über die Entstehung und Entwicklung der slawischen Schrift (bis XII Jhdt.), über die alten bulgarischen Alphabeten und die altbulgarische Sprache, über die literarische Tradition in Bulgarien im Mittelalter usw.

Mit der Bildung des Europäischen Forschungsraums nimmt das Studium des Wesens und des Kulturerben Cyrillus und Methodius seine Stelle in der europäischen Humanitaristik ein. Deshalb wird es unentbehrlich, dass eine maximale Zahl von Quellen

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und wissenschaftlichen Beiträgen nicht nur festgestellt, sondern auch leicht erreichbar für den Wissenschaftler aus verschiedenen Ländern gemacht wird. Anfang 2009 Mitarbeiter des Akademie-Archivs der Bulgarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (BAW) und Forscher des Cyrillus-und-Methodius-Forschungszentrum bei BAW begannen zu arbeiten an wissenschaftlichem Projekt "Das wissenschaftliche Erbe von Cyrillus und Methodius und seine bulgarischen und europäischen Dimensionen" (finanziert von nationaler Stiftung "Wissenschaftliche Forschungen"). Das Ziel des Projekts ist zwei wesentlichsten Aspekte der gesamten Tätigkeit von Cyrillus und Methodius vorzustellen: die Bedeutung ihres Kulturerben für die Entwicklung bulgarischer Kultur und für die Einschaltung Bulgariens ans europäische christliche Kulturmodell und den Beitrag dieses Erben für die Entwicklung des europäischen christlichen Kulturmodells.

Im Akademie-Archiv wird sorgfältig Kollektion slawischer Manuskripten erhalten. Diese Kollektion nimmt seinen Anfang im Jahre 1869: damals wurde in rumänischer Stadt Brăila die Bulgarische Literaturgesellschaft gegründet (Vorläufer von BAW). Bulgaren aus verschiedener Städte begannen der Gesellschaft Manuskripte zu schicken, die sie bisher zu Hause bewahrten. Nach der Wiederherstellung des bulgarischen Staates zieht die Gesellschaft nach Sofia um; die kostbare Sammlung wird immer reicher durch Spenden von Personen, vom Bulgarischen Exarchat in Konstantinopel, von den Handelsvertreter Bulgariens in Bitola und Skopje, vom Archäologischen Museum in Sofia. Um 1969 sind die Manuskripten 117, in der Sammlung erhalten sich auch 11 einzelne Blätter von nicht festgestellten Manuskripten.

Professor B. Zonew beschreibt 1916 die Sammlung, die damals 16 Manuskripte beträgt. Im Jahre 1968-1969 Professor Christo Kodow systematisiert und beschreibt alle vorhandene Manuskripte und einzelne Blätter. Das älteste Manuskript – ein Fragment von Triodion – stammt von zweiter Hälfte der XI Jhdt., ein Manuskript – das Triodion von Bitola – ist am Ende des XII Jhdts. entstanden, einige Manuskripte sind aus XIII Jhdt., und der wesentliche Teil – aus XIV Jhdt.; einige handgeschriebene Bücher sind aus der Zeit der bulgarischen nationalen Wiedergeburt (bis zum dritten Viertel des XIX Jhdts.). Die Manuskripte sind auf Pergament und Papier.

Es wurden fotografiert:

1. Biblische Bücher – 3 Psalter aus dem XIII-XV Jhdt. Besonders wertvoll für das Studium der bulgarischen Kultur und Literatur ist das sogenannte "Liederbuch des Zaren Ivan-Alexander" (1337).

2. Liturgische Bücher – 13 Menäen aus XIV-XVII Jhdt.; 4 Oktoich aus XIV-XV Jhdt.; 8 Triodions aus XI-XVI Jhdt.; 3 Pentekostarions aus XIV-XV Jhdt.; 5 Ieratikons aus XV-XVI Jhdt; 4 Trebnik aus XV-XVIII Jhdt.; Stundenbuch aus XVI Jhdt.; 2 Menologions aus XVI Jhdt.; 1 Typika aus XIV Jhdt.; 4 liturgische Sammelbände aus XV-XVII Jhdt. u. a.

3. Patristische Hauptwerke: Homilien von Ephraim von Syrien (1353 J.); Homilien von Gregorius von Nazianz (XIV oder XV Jhdt.); Nomokanon von Matheus Vlastar (XV Jhdt.); Homilien von Johannes Chrysostomos (XV Jhdt.).

4. Mönchliteratur (Prologen, Paterikons, Mönchsammelbände, liturgische Sammelbände aus XIII-XVI Jhdt.).

5. Sammelbände mit Vitas und Homilien – 4 Manuskripte aus XVI-XIX Jhdt. Damaskine – 6 Manuskripte aus XVII-XIX Jhdt.

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6. Manuskripte mit nichtkirchlicher Bestimmung: zwei Kopien von "Slawo-bulgarischen Geschichte" von Hieromonach Paissij von Hilandar; eine Grammatik bulgarischer Sprache; Annalen.

Die Manuskripte wurden fotografiert. Sie werden in der nahen Zukunft auf eine speziele Internet-Seite (die im Rahmen des Projekts geschafft wird) veröffentlicht, damit sie erreichbar für den Forscher aus aller Welt werden. Die Fotos werden von ausführlichen Annotationen und Metadaten begleitet sein.

Die Mitarbeiter des Akademie-Archivs der BAW hoffen, dass ihr Beitrag der weiteren Entwicklung europäischer Humanitaristik beistehen wird.

Elena Diakonova[*]

Collaboration between the Hungarian and Slovenian Archivists

As regards the antecedents, before the 90s there were not so many precedents for the cooperation between the Hungarian and Slovenian archivists. The collaboration was mostly confined to the mutual research visits.

At the beginning of the 90s an idea presented itself during the meeting between Endre Gyimesi, at the time director of the Zala County Archives and Peter Pavel Klasinc, the director of the Regional Archives of Maribor of that time. They suggested organizing a camp for grammar school students. The participants would make a fieldwork under the guidance of archivists in the Hungarian-Slovenian border region called Prekmurje consisting in researching and collecting the documents of lasting value preserved by the families living there. As regards Prekmurje we have to mention that we call in Slovenian Prekmurje, in Hungarian Muravidék the region that is surrounded by the Mura River and the watershed of the Mura and Rába rivers. Before 1920 this land belonged to the Hungarian Kingdom but it never formed an independent geographical, economic, administrative or political unit. While Vas County included its greater northwestern area, the less southwestern part belonged to Zala County. It was populated mainly by Slovenians and partly by Hungarians. In 1920 the Trianon peace treaty attached it to the Serbo-Croat-Slovene Kingdom. Since 1991 it is part of the Slovenian Republic.

Reverting to the topic of the suggested camp, from Slovenian side the Regional Archives of Maribor, the Cultural Institute of the Ethnic Hungarians in Prekmurje and the Self-Governing Community of the Ethnic Hungarians in Prekmurje undertook the coordination. On the Hungarian side the border region includes two counties, Zala County and Vas County. Therefore, besides the Zala County Archives, also the Vas County Archives joined in the work. The first camp was arranged in 1991, after the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. Since then it has been organized every year and in 2011 was the twenty-first occasion. The International Council of Archives and the Council of Europe based in Strasbourg have been following the events connected with the camp from the beginning.

Usually, twelve students (six from Slovenia and six from Hungary), six archivists (two from each archive) and the drivers are the participants at the camp. In the

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phase of the preparation they choose the villages they will visit. Then they go from place to place, wandering through the streets and getting in touch with the local people. The main goal of the camp is in the first step to find written sources of historical value, to gather and sort them. In the second step the documents are shown in an exhibition presenting the life, the weekdays and the personal connections of the inhabitants from the villages situated in the borderland.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the archival research camp the collaborating archives – Regional Archives of Maribor, Zala County Archives, Vas County Archives – organized a two-day international conference with participation of Hungarian and Slovenian historians as well as recent and previous campers. They delivered lectures on the achievements of the camp up to now, discussed the experiences and pointed out the possibilities for a future renewal. Some participants evoked memories of the past camps[1]. The program ended with a commemorative exhibition and an excursion to Prekmurje (Muravidék). The project was realized with the support of the European Union and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund. In this way the cross-border cooperation of the two Hungarian counties mentioned above and one Slovenian region, Prekmurje has come to fruition.

The other factor that stimulated the stronger collaboration between the Hungarian and Slovenian archivists was that as a consequence of the Trianon peace treaty of 1920, like other archives of Hungary, the Zala County Archives and the Vas County Archives had to hand over the archival material regarding the detached settlements to the successor states of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in this particular case to the Serbo-Croat-Slovene Kingdom. Slovenia, which constituted one of the lands of the kingdom at that time, came into possession of the documents, which are in the proper custody of the Regional Archives of Maribor now.

The Association of the Hungarian Archivists in cooperation with the so called "Hungarica" researches coordinated by the Hungarian National Archives set as goal the appraisal of the archival material concerning the Hungarian history in the neighboring countries. The project has started in the early 2000s in Slovakia and Serbia, and then continued in further countries. Some finding aids have been already published relating to this.

Being located in the neighborhood of Slovenia and having direct contacts with the Slovenian archivists in the camp, the Zala County Archives helped achieving this task. They were charged with surveillance of the documents in the Regional Archives of Maribor. In order to carry out the work two archivists of the Zala County Archives Erzsébet Csomor and Ibolya Foki spent a week in Maribor in May of 2006. The archivists of Maribor paid attention to 40 archival funds that very likely contained records connected with the Hungarian history. During one week the Hungarian archivists had striven to study all the forty funds and finally established that they include the archival material handed over to the Serbo-Croat-Slovene Kingdom after the Trianon peace treaty. But these funds included not only the records regarding the detached settlements but also the records of other Hungarian administrative and judiciary organs. As for the

[1] *20 éves a szlovén – magyar nemzetközi levéltári kutatótábor. Nemzetközi konferencia. Szentgotthárd, 2010. szeptember 24. / 20 let delovanja slovensko – madžarskega mednarodnega arhivskega raziskovalnega tabora. Mednarodna konferenca. Monošter, 24. september 2010*, Szombathely, 2010.

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provenance their place of origin was Vas County or Zala County and they were created mostly in the 19th and 20th centuries. Besides these documents Erzsébet Csomor and Ibolya Foki found also records from the local organs of the state administration. Since the original finding aids remained in Hungary, the Slovenian colleagues produced excellent new ones, which were of big help to the Hungarian archivists. The new finding aids offer detailed information on the subject, the age of origin, the character, the language and the type of the script of each file. Erzsébet Csomor and Ibolya Foki copied them and brought along with them to Hungary. The Budapest City Archives will publish the finding aid related to these records soon.

Meantime, a Slovenian colleague of the Regional Archives of Maribor, Gordana Šövegeš Lipovšek visited the Zala County Archives on several occasions with the same purpose. She surveyed the records concerning the history of the settlements of Prekmurje that remained in Zala, in the archival material of the central administrative organs of the county. In 2009 she published the result of her researches in Maribor, in the form of a finding aid[2].

In connection with the collaboration we still have to mention the different conferences and meetings. The Hungarian archivists are constant participants in the conferences entitled "Technical and Field Related Problems of Traditional and Electronic Archiving", which are organized by the Regional Archives of Maribor in Radenci in the spring of every year. The representatives of the Association of the Hungarian Archivists took also part on more occasions in the meetings of the Association of the Slovenian Archivists.

The conferences, the effective cooperation regarding the mutual appraisal work and the success of the archival research camp encouraged the Hungarian and Slovenian archivists and historians to issue a book[3] that contains historical sources regarding the common past of Prekmurje.

The book published by the Zala County Archives, Zalaegerszeg and the Vas County Archives, Szombathely is actually a sourcebook and came out in the autumn of 2008. It consists of two volumes in which the authors collected 227 documents from 871 to 1921. That is the result of a common work lasting for six years from the birth of the idea to the realization; to which altogether twenty-three colleagues of seven institutions contributed, implying also the works connected with the editing, translation, layout, illustration and indexes. The institutions were as follows: the Zala County Archives, the Vas County Archives and the Savaria Museum of Szombathely from Hungarian side; the Regional Archives of Maribor, the Regional Museum of Murska Sobota, the University of Maribor and the Cultural Institute of the Ethnic Hungarians in Prekmurje from Slovenian side. The multiplicity of the sources and the dispersal of those in different public collections are caused by the fact that there were several contributors. Thirteen of the colleagues took part in choosing the documents and writing the introductory texts before each source. The authors felt necessary to put prefaces before the sources so that they could throw light on the circumstances of their origin with reference to the proper

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[2] Gordana Šövegeš Lipovšek, *Vodnik po arhivskem gradivu o Prekmurju v Arhivu županije Zala v Zalaegerszegu*, Maribor, 2009.

[3] *Források a Muravidék történetéhez. Szöveggyűjtemény, 871-1921. / Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja. Zbirka dokumentov, 871-1921* (ed. by László Mayer & András Molnár), Szombathely-Zalaegerszeg, 2008.

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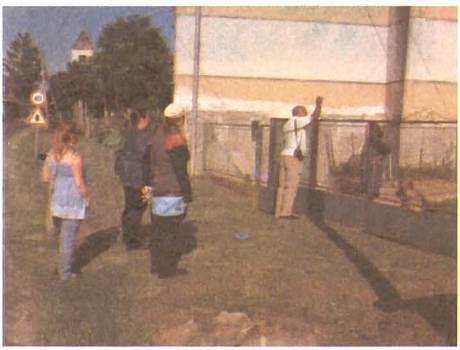
historical events of Hungary or the Slovenians. The Slovenian contributors plan to issue a third volume that will contain sources from the period of 1921 to the present. As the records connected with this era are kept exclusively in Slovenia the colleagues there undertook to compile this missing part.

The published volumes are bilingual. The editors and contributors thought it would not have been an excellent idea to publish the books parallel in two different languages. This solution would have led to the distribution of the books independently of one another, and they would have started to live a separate life, contrary to the intention of the authors. The version of Slovenian language would not have got to the Hungarian readers; the version of Hungarian language would not have reached the Slovenian readers. That is why now the text of the sources is set on all the pages in parallel columns, in the two languages. Therefore, they can be immediately compared and so we may say they symbolize the inseparability of our common history.

We think these examples of the collaboration can illustrate if the sober majority is able to lessen the tension generated by the politicians in many cases, the peoples and nationalities of East-Central Europe can live in peace side by side.



Fieldwork of the campers in the villages of Prekmurje

Participants at the archival research camp in 2010

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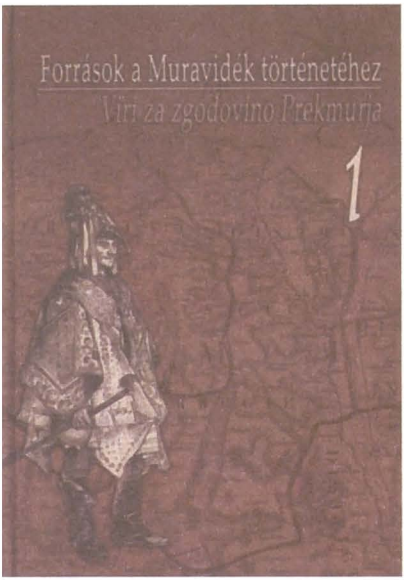
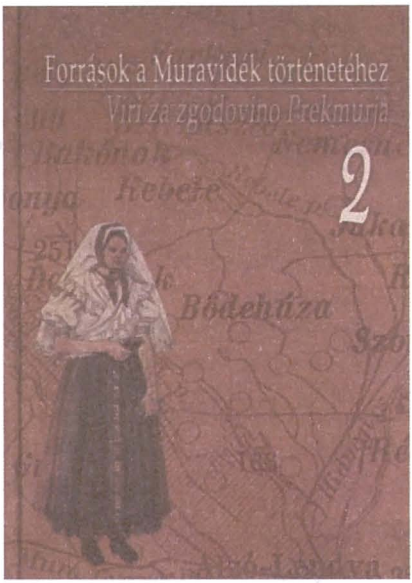


Sources to the History of Prekmurje 1



Sources to the History of Prekmurje 2

Ibolya Foki[*]

Entroncamento and its Archive

Located right in the central of Portugal, 120 km from Lisbon, Entroncamento enjoys a good geographic location, together with good road and rail accesses and its development was accomplished in a few years. Its name derives from the intersection of two main railway lines.

In the late nineteenth century, most of the inhabitants of this small town were mostly rail workers, coming from all over the country in search of a better life. The railway was booming.

Entroncamento quickly grew from a small village, dependent of two neighbouring civil parishes, to an independent civil parish of Entroncamento on August 25, 1926 (Diário do Governo n° 187, 1ª série). The Law no. 12192 created a village called Entroncamento, headquartered in the same location. Not long after, with the Law no. 22010, it is elevated to Village and on November 24, 1945, Law no. 35184 is published, establishing Entroncamento as a County.

This rapid evolution was due mainly to the population – the railway workers, who brought their families – and local rulers. The most prominent figure was José Duarte Coelho – first President of the Civil Parish and the second Mayor – who always fought for the development of this county. Currently, the city of Entroncamento is known as the "Railway City".

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[*] Senior Archivist at Zala County Archives.

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Initially, the City Hall building concentrated all of its administrative services, and sheltered in its basement the headquarters of the Fire Department and Boy Scouts. It was in the attic of City Hall building that the formation of the archive of city council began.

Since its foundation, the Hall suffered several renovations, due to the growth of public services, which resulted in the need to construct new buildings in their vicinity - Public Works, Social and Cultural Services, a Library and Urban Services, currently in separate buildings are examples of this growth.

Until a separate building for the Municipal Archives was constructed, the choice of a temporary space, more appropriate to the size of the collection, fell upon a large warehouse in the Daily Market. The building, destined mainly for the big trade, was inaugurated in 1983 and was built on the one hand because of the increasing population and secondly because the old market in Entroncamento would be transformed into the Cultural Centre of the city.

Although the city of Entroncamento is fairly recent, the archival collection of owned documents is no less important. Documenting the rapid growth of the city, the establishment and closure of major industries – some of them have unfortunately disappeared – and perpetuating the memory of all the residents who made the city of Entroncamento what it is today. Testimonies of this history can be found in documents that are today the major documental background of the City of Entroncamento, duly held in the Municipal Archive of this city.

As a newly established service, the Municipal Archive is being restructured and organized. In 2007 the preparation of the Archives Classification Plan began, which is the starting point for the consolidation of the importance of the archive service. With the intervention of heads of section and some employees, it was possible to constitute a new and workable plan of classification. For its preparation it was necessary to know the history of the municipality, namely the role of municipal services and the roles they play. The Law no. 412/2001 of 17th of April, although aimed the establishment of retention periods of several documents produced by local authorities, was an indispensable tool in the preparation of this Classification Plan.

However, the document series described in this law do not entirely correspond to the reality of the city of Entroncamento. Thus, for the documentary series that do not exist in the law, it was necessary to fill new Data Collection Sheets to determine their retention periods in administrative and final destination, which allowed us to also control excessive documentation in storage.

The archive service focuses therefore mainly on the organization of the collection of the municipality as regard the storage, the proper handling of old and worn documents to new folders, as well as the allocation of new quotas and a map of the Municipal Archives. This work is in fact a fundamental priority, before we can initiate the transfer to modern digital media and proceed to the task of archival description.

A study is being done to assess the establishment of a Regulation of Municipal Archives with a set of procedures to ensure proper functioning of each section. Being a growing service, it has become crucial to study all the changes, over the years and all of the recent legislation on Archives in Portugal. In this sense, Entroncamento's City Council has invested in the training for their employees, particularly in its participation in seminars and conferences of the Portuguese Association of Librarians, Archivists and Documentalists, in the area of archives, in order to keep track of archival development.

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Despite the fact that Archive is not located in the City Hall building, when the need arises to see a particular file or a simple document, it is scanned and sent to the pertinent service in digital form for response. This process is very important because it introduces us to the municipal council services document scanning and deployment of Document Management Systems.

The organization of the Municipal Archives, at the moment, is not yet finished. Among other things, we must create conditions so as not to lose track of internal requests for documentation. In the end, a specific form was created for the requisition of documentation to the Archives. The employee or service that requests the document will then have a period of 15-30 days to return the documents to the Archive. All these new forms were based on the rules and procedures proposed by the Directorate General of Archives.

In Portugal, unfortunately, there are many municipalities where the service is nonexistent or executed by administrative staff without any specific training in archival science. The need for better organization and access to documents of local government makes, however, the establishment of the Office of the Municipal Archive fundamental not only for the smooth running of council services but also as a basis for more informed policy decisions.

Completion of Data Collection Sheet was also vital to support the decision of the retention periods and final destination of the documentation reviewed by allowing the documents in excess to be removed, thereby promoting the smooth operation of archival storage. This is in the benefit of the Archive and of the local authority, which can count on a well structured and organized Archive Service. "The assessment document has a key role in the documentation life cycle, insofar as it defines which documents will be preserved for administrative or research and in which moments can they be eliminated or kept permanently, according to the value and potential use for the administration that created them and for society."

When an entity does not have a selection table in the Law, the archivist is faced with a scenario of overwhelming documentation production that has not been the target of evaluation. In this case, DGARQ – Archives General Direction may direct the person responsible for the Archive to make an assessment report.

Daniela Alexandra Tavares Carmona[*]

Lone Arrangers Roundtable of the Society of American Archivists

The archival profession is most certainly a varied one. There are so many different kinds of archival repositories – from ones housed in universities and colleges, to organizations large and small, to corporations and nonprofits. One characteristic that many of these repositories share – even if many of their other characteristics differ – is that many are managed by archivists who can be considered "lone arrangers". Lone arrangers are archivists who are themselves the only archivist working in their repository – or with minimal staff to assist.

[*] Câmara Municipal do Entroncamento, Portugal. Translated in English by Gabriela Alexandre.

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Archivists in lone arranger settings find themselves doing all of the tasks that would – in a larger setting – be done by multiple people. Lone arrangers find themselves performing all the tasks that it takes to keep their archives running and accessible. Unlike archivists at larger institutions who have other archivists that they work with, lone arrangers must rely heavily upon their own knowledge, savvy, and understanding of the profession to run their archives.

Indeed, lone arrangers find themselves to be, by necessity, knowledgeable about all aspects of an archival repository – from processing manuscript collections to donor relations to records management – and everything in between. The charge can be a bit daunting. That's why it's reassuring to know that there is help out there in the form of the Lone Arrangers Roundtable of the Society of American Archivists.

The Society of American Archivists (SAA) is heavily propelled by its membership. While the organization has a staff that runs the core of operations in Chicago, the organization is truly national – even international – in its membership and full governance. Besides the staff at the SAA headquarters in Chicago, SAA has a President and Vice-President and other officers – such as a Treasurer, etcetera. Working in tandem with the officers and the staff is the SAA Council, which acts as the elected governing body of SAA. Underneath this "super structure" of leadership come the various committees, subcommittees, sections, and roundtables of the organization.

The Lone Arrangers Roundtable finds itself as a part of the large web of leaders in SAA. It is the primary body within the Society of American Archivists to provide education, communication, and support for and by lone arranger archivists. The group formed as a result of specially arranged lunches for lone arrangers sponsored by SAA during its annual conference from 1999 to 2002. In 2002, luncheon attendees gathered signatures to create a formal roundtable. SAA formalized the group in 2003. The roundtable's first meeting was at the SAA annual conference in Los Angeles in the Summer of 2003, where a chair and a co-chair were elected by its members.

The mission statement of the Lone Arrangers Roundtable is:

> "To provide education, stimulate communication, and encourage support between archivists working in «lone arranger» settings. The term "lone arranger" includes those working alone or in very small staff situations."

The roundtable currently is the eighth largest roundtable in SAA in terms of its sheer membership numbers. As there are twenty-seven roundtables, the fact that this roundtable is the eighth largest speaks to the fact that there are many lone arrangers out there who seek the resources and camaraderie it provides.

The roundtable seeks to fulfill its mission to provide education to its members – and anyone else who seeks such assistance – through a few different venues. Central is the roundtable's website: http://www.archivists.org/saagroups/lonearr/index.asp. It is loaded with resources on everything from arranging and describing collections to records management to outreach to technology. Additionally, there are papers given by lone arrangers from conferences addressing lone arranger issues and links to social networking sites for lone arrangers and links to regional archival organizations.

Communication opportunities are central for lone arrangers – perhaps more so than for other archivists. Lone arrangers do not have the luxury of posing questions to and seeking advice from colleagues who are physically present in their own archives.

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Therefore opportunity for lone arrangers to be able to talk with one another is key. The roundtable has a healthy and active listserv through which lone arrangers can post a question or a concern and get assistance from fellow lone arrangers within a short amount of time. It's been gratifying to see that it is an active venue, and one in which it's clear that posters – as well as its readers – receive answers to the questions that they have asked, and get to discuss particulars of these issues. It's a collegial, informative, and pleasant point of exchange.

Additionally, there are a few social networking sites designed specifically for lone arrangers. One is the Lone Arrangers Ning: http://lonearrangers.ning.com/. This site was created by the current vice-chair of the roundtable and a lone arranger colleague. Also there is the Lone Arrangers page in Facebook. These sites are additional venues for lone arrangers to be able to ask questions of each other, discuss issues, and to meet each other.

The roundtable has officially endorsed sessions at the SAA annual conference. These sessions address issues that explore, discuss, and seek solutions for several lone arranger-specific issues. SAA allows for two sessions to be endorsed by each roundtable. In the past few years, the sessions sponsored by the Lone Arrangers Roundtable have dealt with varied issues – including preservation of materials, time management, processing strategies, etcetera.

The Society of American Archivists has contracted the roundtable's vice-chair, Christina Zamon, to write a book addressing specific issues and concerns of lone arrangers. It will be a combination of practical information and case studies written by lone arrangers from all over North America.

A final project that the roundtable has just begun to work on is a travel grant. This travel grant would help to fund lone arrangers who would like to attend SAA's annual conferences, and to attend the Roundtable's annual business meetings in person, but cannot because they have no budget to travel and cannot afford to pay out-of-pocket.

To conclude, being an archivist who is also a lone arranger is deeply satisfying and endlessly interesting. Lone arrangers are, by nature – and necessity – constantly learning new skills and taking initiatives to ensure that their collections are fully and properly cared for and made available. The Lone Arrangers Roundtable of the Society of American Archivists is a resource and a support to this varied and vital population of archivists.

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VARIA

Sigismund of Luxemburg and his Modern Scholars: The *Between Worlds: Sigismund of Luxemburg and his Time* Conference in Oradea (December 6-9, 2007)

The conference in Oradea about Sigismund of Luxemburg was a unique event in its own respect, as it was the first major conference devoted to a leading European personality that did neither come to life, nor die, but was only buried in what is now modern Romania (yet was closely involved in the local and regional politics and society). It was also rather unique as, in spite of the impressive editorial works and the skillfully balanced exhibitions of 2006 (both in Budapest and in Luxemburg), no scientific meeting of greater extent had taken place. In fact, the last and virtually the first academic venue of this genre, devoted to emperor and king Sigismund of Luxemburg had taken place in Budapest in 1987. On Romanian soil, the conference was part of the *Between Worlds*, series, started in 2006 by the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca and the Romanian Academy, focused on key figures and events in regional and continental history (2006: John Hunyadi, 2007: Sigismund of Luxemburg, 2008: Matthias Corvinus, and 2009: the Union of Florence).

Organized by the City Hall of Oradea, the Babeş-Bolyai University, the *Ţării Crişurilor* Museum of Oradea, the University of Oradea and the Romanian Academy, with the institutional support of major academic centers and structures such as the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the Ca'Foscari University of Venice or the University of Szeged, the conference (December 6-9, 2007) involved almost 80 participants and some of the leading figures in the field (Ernő Marosi, János M. Bak, Konrad Gündisch, Gianfranco Giraudo, Cesare Alzati, Franck Collard, Johannes Preiser Kapeller, Damir Karbić, László Gróf, Enikő Csukovits, Enikő Rüsz-Fogarasi, Şerban Papacostea, Viorel Achim, Camil Mureşanu, Ioan-Aurel Pop, or Ioan Drăgan). The participants from 9 countries (Hungary, Austria, Croatia, Italy, Germany, France, Belgium, England, Romania) took the stage in parallel sessions devoted to the major aspects of the king's reign and time.

From Luxemburg to Oradea
I. Politics and Law
II. Society and Economy

Image and Impact: The Faces of an Age
I. Historiography and History (1. The Late Medieval Perspective; 2. Modern and Early Modern Points of View)
II. Between the Churches (1. Latin Christendom; 2. Greek Christendom)
III. Image and Belief (1. Saints, Sinners and Instruments; 2. Heraldry, Cartography and Patterns)

The Realm, its Monarch, his Subjects: Structure and Exception
I. *Rex, reguli et regnum* (1. The Center and its Limits; 2. Local Powers and Regional Ambitions)

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II. Revenues and Rewards (1. Charters and Profit; 2. Families and Followers)
III. Royal Borderlands (1. Defense, Trade and their Consequences; 2. Duties and Freedoms)

Crowns, Emperors and Kings: Political Shapes and Military Forms
I. Crusade and Diplomacy (1. Ottoman Affairs; 2. Frontier Efforts and Movements)
II. European and Regional Politics (1. Supporters and Infidels; 2. Allies and Enemies)
III. Men and Means (1. Aims, Claims and Opportunities; 2. Concepts and Cities)

A Ruler's Coordinates
I. North and South
II. East and West

The scientific quality of the proceedings and the very hospitable and warm environment led to the most fruitful and relevant discussions, completed by the exhibition devoted to Sigismund of Luxemburg's age east of the Tis(z)a, curated by Doru Marta (*Ţării Crişurilor* Museum of Oradea) and Tudor Sălăgean (National Museum for the History of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca). These facts and impressions are captured in the words of some of the leading scientific figures that attended in the conference in the cold days of December.

> [...] *it was splendid congress, worthy of Sigismund that recaptured the European dimension of the city of Oradea, in the manner defined by Karol Woytjla for the reconstruction of the concept of Europe* (Cesare Alzati).

> *The conference had a twofold effect. On one hand, it intensified scientific contacts between the countries involved, though to the presence of leading figures in the field* [...]. *On the other, it augmented the Romanian reception of a leading European figure* (Konrad Gündisch).

> [...] *The 'extra mural' program of the conference had the same relaxed air to it. Varied and interesting, they always produced the unexpected.* [...] *Any disappointments? Yes. I did not, could not see the tomb of Sigismund nor St Ladislas. They were destroyed long ago in the turbulent history of the region and of Oradea. But I suppose it did not matter. The joy of history is searching for and through the incomplete records of the past and connecting it to our lives, while enjoying the present. The Conference at Oradea achieved it all* (László Grof).

> [...] *The conference provided the opportunity for most insightful reflections and for contacts with distinguished colleagues, which are otherwise difficult to meet. It was un-questionably a very positive experience* [...] *made possible by an impeccable logistical organization* (Gianfranco Giraudo).

The lectures delivered at the conference will be published in the third volume in the *Between Worlds*, series (= *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, Nouvelle Série, I, 3). Until then, the abstracts of the proceedings can be found in *Sigismund of Luxemburg and his*

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Time (Oradea, December 6-9, 2007) (= *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, Nouvelle Série, Subsidia, I) edited by Florina Ciure and Alexandru Simon (Oradea, Editura Muzeului *Ţării Crişurilor*, 2007, 172 p.), volume made available also online (www.patzinakia.ro/guests).

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- affiliation;
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